

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

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ART. I.—LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR. BY NAPOLEON III.

WHEN a merchant with whom we are dealing positively assures us that nothing could induce him to cheat us, our suspicions are aroused, and we take particular pains not to give him a chance to do so; and so, when an historian asserts in his preface that he has divested himself of prejudice in treating his subject, we may properly mistrust him, and should be the more careful not to be misled by his affected impartiality. To attain such cold-blooded disinterestedness, he must become the "bean ideal" of a just judge; a man without a heart; a statue with a brain, whose cold intellectual light shines upon the subject with the brightness of the sun, but transmits no more heat than the reflection from an icicle. But this is impossible;—the author can no more cast off his human vestments, the sympathies and prejudices which time, circumstance, and education, have interwoven with the very threads of life, than the leopard can change his spots, or the Ethiop his skin.

Although he may write of an event that occurred thousands of years ago, he can see it only from the standpoint of the present—through spectacles colored by the institutions of his country, the spirit of the age, and his own peculiarities. A monarchist writing of Augustus, would cover with praise the ruler who had fixed the Cæsarian dynasty upon the Roman people, and to it attributes the blossoming out of the arts, sciences and letters, which had so long languished, while the Republican would see in it, not an escape from the desperate tyranny of Sylla, but, the opening of the gates to the horrible enormities which blacken and redden the reigns of Caligula and Nero, with eternal infamy. The slaveholder composing the History of Sparta, of Athens, of Thessaly, or of Rome, would discover in his favorite institution, the rich soil that had

nourished the highest virtues of those peoples; the abolitionist would discern, and prove conclusively according to his notions of logic that it was the rank earth, whose over luxuriant growth had engendered malarious airs, poisoned society and led to bloody dissensions and civil wars.

Walter Scott affords a striking instance of a singularly ingenuous mind warped to injustice by the influence of his surroundings. From his admirable qualities of head and heart, we might have expected, if from any, an unbiased History of Napoleon. His rare powers of laborious research and keen discrimination; his high integrity as a man, and his long experience as an author; and the liberality and enlightenment of his views of men and things, indicated him as possessing fine qualifications for the undertaking. Having gathered the necessary material; public and private documents, containing English, French and European accounts, he put them together and what did he produce? Simply an English account. He had been like the painter, to whose diseased vision, red and blue, and yellow and green, all look red, and in that color alone he had dipped his brush. Abbott at a later day, redressed the same subject, but he saw it from a different stand-point, in the glow of a different light. To him, Napoleon is not a selfish despot marching to glory through blood and tears, but the self-immolated hero devoting his life to France and humanity. Neither writer produced a history. Scott's work reads like the speech of an eloquent and adroit prosecuting attorney, who generally confesses what nobody denies, and who affirms against the defendant whenever there is a doubt; Abbott's sounds like the mere verbiage of an advocate, who seeks to conceal his ignorance of the law in the assurance of his address, and the loudness of his praise. Scott erred cleverly; Abbott, stupidly; neither was just.

Every library abounds with books of a similar stamp. Salust's account of Catiline's Conspiracy has the air of a political pamphlet; Lingard's History of England is a literary missile against the Protestant religion; Macaulay is accused of writing his sketch of the Prince of Orange in the interests and pay of a party; and we hear now that some modern writer is attempting to clear the character of Henry VIII; a task compared to which, it strikes us, the purification of the Augean stables was insignificant.

If Henry could wake from his grave—Henry, the variegated villain, spotted with every crime; murderer, bigamist, sensualist and tyrant, how would sound to his ears the tender epithets, "noble martyr," "generous enthusiast" and "saintly king," which will no doubt be applied. He would doubt his

own identity; first compose his countenance to a sweet expression—then fly into a passion, and hurry to a drunken revel. He would be like Christopher Sly, when he awoke in a silken bed with obsequious attendants around him, and puzzled with doubt whether he was a beggar or a lord.

"Upon my life I am a lord indeed,
And not a tinker, nor Christopher Sly;
Well, bring our lady hither to our sight,
And once again—a pot o' the smallest ale."

Further examples are not necessary to impress this fact; that the historian cannot throw off his prejudices when he picks up his pen, as the laborer does his coat when he picks up his spade.

Burns prayed most poetically that,

"Oh wad some power the giftie gie us,
To see oursel's as others see us!"

but, at this present writing, to not one that we know of has the boon been given.

When we come now to reflect upon the character of Napoleon III., we divine at once what sort of a life he would make of Cæsar. Evidently, we could not expect from the self-made monarch, dictating from a throne that he had seized with a sword, such views of the greatest of kings as we would from a mild-mannered parson or professor, who lives in a closet, and looks out upon the vast world with its boiling passions and bloody revolutions only through its window.

From Dr. Arnold in the calm recesses of Rugby, and Dr. Anthon at Columbia, we have sober moralizing, on the sin and vanity of ambition, and to them the story of Cæsar is that of a base usurper, crushing his country's freedom for his own selfish purposes, and meeting at the hands of a patriot—a fate he most fully deserved; from the kindred spirit of the daring and dauntless Emperor, we have an enthusiastic eulogy on the splendor and privileges of genius, a glowing tribute to the grand aspirations of him, whose name is consecrated as the proudest epithet of a king, and contemptuous pity for those short-sighted conspirators, who cut off his illustrious career.

Napoleon had two objects in view in writing the history: to be elected to fill a chair in the Academy, as his uncle did, and to strengthen his dynasty upon the throne of France by an historical parallel, showing the necessity of a Cæsar and Augustus to the welfare of the Romans, and by comparison, the necessity of Napoleon I., and himself, to the welfare of the French. He has not attempted to disguise his diplomacy, and to make it appear that his work is purely a classic essay; but announces in his introduction, that his aim is to prove "that

when Providence raises up such men as Cæsar, Charlemagne and Napoleon, it is to trace out to peoples the path they ought to follow; to stamp with their genius a new era, and to accomplish in a few years, the work of many centuries." Thus openly he declares himself the champion of Cæsar; and, certainly it is more manly and ingenuous, to unbare to the world under what influences of prepossession and interest the author writes, than to cloak duplicity (as most historians do) under a pretended impartiality.

It was indeed a bold literary adventure of Napoleon, to advance political ideas in the garb of history; and as men are as prone to imitate the ways of sovereigns, as the ladies do the parasols and bonnets of queens, it will, no doubt, soon be fashionable to write party pamphlets, under the title of biographies of men, who apparently have no more to do with present concerns than men in the moon. The novel has long since subserved this purpose. Under Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, it was employed to amuse by witty and humorous sketches of men and manners; in the hands of Scott, it became the medium of historical and moral instruction; and then, by a class of minor litterateurs, it was used to convey arguments on a variety of topics, ranging from politics to religion. If a military campaign was to be criticised; if the law of supply and demand was to be discussed; or, if religious tenets were to be advocated, the author wrapped up his notions in a romance, and in this shape hurled them at his opponent. To use history in this wise will, no doubt, become popular, and although it may seem a degradation of so noble a science to employ it for partisan designs, we are convinced that it will tend to elicit the truth, rather than to pervert it; just as the merits of a case in court are best arrived at by a jury when there is able counsel on each side, placing the facts respectively in the most favorable and most unfavorable attitudes.

The Emperor has already found, that in attaining his "blushing honors" as an author, he has made also for himself a new vexation. Such are the annoyances mixed with the glories of majesty; if a nosegay is offered him, he must beware lest he inhale perfume and death together; if a seat is offered him at a fête, he must beware lest there be a bomb-shell under it; and now, let him beware how he seek recreation in the history of an ancient hero, lest while shaking his sides over some witty saying, he discover that he has been laughing at a covert satire on himself. The critics were of course delighted when they heard that such a royal morsel as this life of Cæsar was in store for them; and its pages were scarcely dry, ere they rushed in to tear it to pieces like a pack of half-famished curs. It was

indeed, a dainty bit; for when one is not an emperor or an emperor's favorite, nothing can be so charming as to find an opportunity to make light of somebody who is. In this feeling of derogation we do not participate; the world should look with peculiar favor on the labors of those upon whose industry and wisdom so much happiness depends; who are harassed by unnumbered cares; who can afford to be idle, and are surrounded by such strong temptations. But, Napoleon's work does not need such charity; it would have done credit to the professed student, who has nothing to divide his attention with letters; and whosoever is induced to commence it from curiosity, will continue it for pleasure; and, however he may regard the views it expresses, must confess at least, that they have been ably maintained.

Let it not be presumed from any previous remark, that the Emperor gives us only a one-sided picture of Cæsar; far from it; he has been as careful to present the evidences against him, as those in his favor; he has only openly confessed his partiality and his individual interest, in order that we may be prepared to see the facts stated, with a view to give strength to his predilections.

"The historian," says Macaulay, "should present a picture of the times in miniature." Napoleon goes further. "The historian," says he, "should be more than a painter; he ought, like the geologist, who explains the phenomena of the globe, to unfold the secret transformation of societies."

Neither definition is perfect: the historian, we think, should combine the finest powers of the artist, the topographical engineer, and the geologist. Like the first, he should give us on canvass a landscape view of his subject; like the topographer, he should map it off showing the angles, distances, dimensions, depressions and elevations devoid of color; and like the geologist, he should expose the sub-soil and unbare the under-strata. We should then have the picturesque effects of events; their bearings on each other, and the causes from which they severally had origin.

As yet, only Vol. I of Cæsar's biography has appeared in this country; and that traces his life no further than to his departure from Rome to take command of the army in Gaul; but, even from this we can readily anticipate what will be the character of the rest, and form an estimate of the style of the Emperor. Over 200 pages of the 350 we have, are devoted to the consideration of Roman Government and society, from the time of the Kings to the fall of the Republic. So far, at least, it is less narrative than essay; more map than picture; more geological chart, than either; that is, more an exposition of the

causes and relations of events than descriptions of events themselves.

The Emperor discloses many fine qualities as a composer of history; deep research into the ancient classics; care and precision in weighing testimony, and a style, terse, nervous, condensed, and never ambiguous. It is rare that a book is met with containing, in such narrow space, so much and such well-arranged information. Its author writes from a mind familiarized by long study, not only with facts and dates, but also with the spirit of laws, manners, customs, politics, literature, and feelings of the people; and he discusses and explains, with the easy grace of one who has breathed the atmosphere of Roman society; has sat in the senate; looked on in the forum; chatted with the people at their homes, and on the street-corners, and been privy to the schemes of politicians and conspirators. This is indeed, high merit; that a work bear evidence that it was carefully elaborated by light of the lamp; while no pedantry or stiffness betrays the scent of the oil.

The chapter on the Consular Republic, contains a lucid exposition of the political contests between the Patricians and Plebeians, and shows how under cover of law the ruling caste exercised its oppressions. The aristocracy, tenacious of their privileges, yet incessantly pressed by the clamors of the people, resorted to every artifice to maintain their superiority, and, at the same time, to sooth the angry temper of the outraged masses. The Plebeians aspired to all the offices of State; the Tribune-ship was granted; then they wanted the Consulship; finally, that also was conceded; but, mark the artful manner in which it was divested of its most desirable incidents and ornaments. New offices were erected and monopolized by the nobility; Patricians were appointed Questors, with charge of the military chest; Censors, to take the census and hold the purse-strings; Prætors, having sovereign jurisdiction of civil affairs, and Curule Ediles, presiding over games and superintending the public buildings. Thus, by wily statesmanship, the names of power went to the people, while power itself, slipped back to the Aristocracy like a snake, leaving in their hands only its cast-off skin. The reflections of Napoleon on this state of affairs are worthy of note:

"It is not indeed sufficient for the appreciation of the state of society, to study thoroughly its laws, but we must also take into consideration the influence of the manners of the people. The laws proclaimed equality and liberty, but the manners left the honors and preponderance to the upper class. The admission to place, was no longer forbidden to the Plebeians, but the election almost always kept them from it.

During fifty-nine years, 264 military tribunes replaced the Consuls, and of this number, only eighteen were Plebeians; although these latter might be can-

didates for the Consulship, the choice fell generally upon the Patricians. Marriage between the two orders had been long placed on a footing of equality, and yet in 456, the prejudices of caste were far from being destroyed, as we learn from the history of the Patrician Virginia, married to the Plebeian Volumnius, whom the matrons drove away from the temple of *pudicitia patricia*. The laws protected liberty, but they were rarely executed. . . . The right of admission in the Senate was acknowledged in principle, yet no one could enter it without having obtained a decree of the Censor, or exercised a curule magistracy—favours almost always reserved to the Aristocracy. The law which required a Plebeian amongst the Censors remained almost always in abeyance, and to become Censor, it was generally necessary to have been Consul. All offices ought to be annual, and yet the Tribunes as well as the Consuls, obtained their re-election several times at short intervals. . . . The lives of the citizens were protected by the laws, but public opinion remained powerless at the assassination of those who had incurred the hatred of the Senate; and, in spite of the law of the Consul Valerius Publicola, the violent death of the Tribune Genucius, and of the rich Plebeian, Spurius Melius, were subjects of applause."

From so brief an extract, we can form no adequate idea of the work—to be appreciated, it must be studied; but even this fragment may serve as a specimen, and afford an indication of the whole. His object here is to show how a tyrannical oppression of a people may be exercised, under the guise of laws most wholesome and just; and how no government fulfills its purposes, unless the people are imbued with its spirit; and that, unless public sentiment stands guard with a naked sword over the rights of the people, the most enlightened doctrines may be 'perverted to the most iniquitous ends. Such was the corruption of Roman society at this period, that an arrogant oligarchy ruled with relentless selfishness, under profession of the most liberal principles. In Rome, there were indeed,

"Laws for all faults,
But faults so countenanced, that the strong statutes
Stood like the forfeits in a barber-shop,
As much in mock as mark."

We may appreciate how Roman liberty was down-trodden under the Republic, by imagining what a state of society would exist in our own country if Republican principles ceased to live in the hearts of the people. To what would it amount, that the lofty principles of "Magna Charta" engrafted upon our Constitution, that, to what would amount the declarations that no man shall be affected in his property, his liberty, or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbors and equals, if those in power could hurry off an offender to a dungeon without arousing the indignation of the nation? To what would amount the principle that a man's house is his castle, and shall be free from search, but by due course of law; if any petty official could cross the threshold with impunity; to what would amount the noble sentiments concerning freedom of the press, freedom of speech and free-

dom to petition for redress of grievances; if the men of the land had become such slaves in heart, that they witnessed repeated violations with their mouths open, their tongues silent, and their hands in their laps.

Plainly, the elevation of public sentiment is the only conservator of free institutions.

Laws may be engraved on brass, emblazoned on banners, cut in stone, and known by heart by the children in the streets; but if their spirit be not beating in the hearts of men, and thrilling in their veins, they are as dead as laws before the flood.

The Constitution would be only a hollow mockery; it would contain only the rotten corpse of liberty, its vital spirit fled; and soon the dry bones of Republicanism would shake together, where once had stood its erect and vigorous form, glowing with beauty, and rejoicing in its strength.

It was disregard for law, that disordered Roman society; that occasioned frequent broils; that builded new institutions, and then undermined them; that broke all bonds of honor, all ties of loyalty, and that finally converted might into right, and made it the duty of whosoever could, to enforce order, repress passion and administer that justice which could only be insured by despotic use of arms. For that glorious work, Cæsar was destined.

In the account of the conquest of Italy by Rome, the Emperor sets forth in a perspicuous manner, the generous policy which gave root to the grandeur and glory of the Roman people; and in this discussion what is most pleasing—more than the close argument, the clear style and the halo of eloquence which is thrown around gallant and generous deeds, is the quick appreciation evinced of the superior influence of magnanimity, over selfishness; clemency over ferocity, and of open-hearted confidence over surveillance and intimidation. As soon as a people yielded to the Roman arms, one thing was required: "*Majestatem populi Romani comiter conservanto.*" (They shall loyally acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman people.) That done, Rome won the hearts of the conquered, by admitting them to the privileges of Roman citizenship. No goading restrictions; no taunts; no chains. The Roman soldier shook hands with his adversary at the end of the battle, and the Roman people welcomed the conquered as allies. Thus, she converted her enemies into friends, not by subduing them at once to the same laws, but by causing them to enter little by little, and in different degrees into the great Roman family. "Of one city she makes her ally; on another, she confers the right of living under the Quiritary law; to this one, the right of suffrage; to that, permission to

live under its own government." Thus, the interest and the glory of the conquerors and conquered became identical; and in a brief time, he who had crossed spears with the Roman in battle, was himself rejoicing in the grand boast, "*Civis Romanus Sum.*"

Upon these broad and enlightened principles, arose the splendid fabric of Roman liberty; and, it was only when cruelty, crafty cunning, and the unscrupulous ambition of place, power and wealth, sapped the fundamentals of the noble structure, that the oppressed and tyrant-ridden fugitives found refuge in the genius of a Cæsar.

After these discussions of Roman policy, and a description of the countries and people adjoining the Romans and affecting their civilization, he commences Cæsar's biography. Of Roman History, preceding Cæsar's appearance in the political and military arena, he has made a pedestal for Cæsar to stand upon, and we now behold raised to the eminence he has prepared, the colossal figure of his hero.

His introduction is an epitome of his views on Cæsar, expressed in general remarks on genius. The entire introduction is worthy of insertion. Seldom do so many pages contain so much pith. Our space permits only this :

"When extraordinary facts attest an eminent genius, what is more contrary to good sense, than to ascribe to him all the passions and sentiments of mediocrity? What more erroneous than not to recognize the pre-eminence of these privileged beings, who appear in history from time to time, like luminous beacons, dissipating the darkness of their epoch, and throwing light into the future? To deny this pre-eminence, would be to insult humanity, by believing it capable of submitting long and voluntarily, to a domination which did not rest on true greatness, and incontestible utility. Let us be logical, and we shall be just.

Too many historians find it easier to lower men of genius than with a generous inspiration, to raise them to their due height, by penetrating their vast designs. . . . By what sign are we to recognize a man's greatness? By the empire of his ideas, when his principles or systems triumph in spite of his death or defeat. Is it not in fact the peculiarity of genius to survive destruction, and to extend its empire over future generations? Cæsar disappeared, and his influence predominates still more, than during his life. Cicero, his adversary, is compelled to exclaim: "All the acts of Cæsar, his writings, his words, his promises, his thoughts, have more force since his death, than if he was still alive. For ages it was enough to tell the world that such was the will of Cæsar for the world to obey it. . . . In fact, neither the murder of Cæsar, nor the captivity of St. Helena, have been able to destroy irrevocably, two popular causes overthrown by a league which disguised itself under the mask of liberty. Brutus, by slaying Cæsar, plunged Rome into the horrors of civil war; he did not prevent the reign of Augustus, but he rendered possible those of Nero and Caligula. The ostracism of Napoleon by confederated Europe, has been no more successful in preventing the Empire from being resuscitated; and, nevertheless, how far are we from the great questions solved, the passions calmed, and legitimate satisfactions given to people under the first Empire.

Thus, every day since 1815, has justified the prophecy of the captive of St. Helena;

"How many struggles, how much blood, how many years will it not require to realize the good I intended to do for mankind!"

In this we see the coming of Cæsar foreshadowed, and we see, moreover, that this book contains the political biography of Napoleon, under the name of Cæsar; and an autobiography of Napoleon III. under the name of Augustus. The Emperor has simply drawn the likeness of his Uncle, and himself, and written under them "Cæsar" and "Augustus;" but as they are real likenesses, as we think, and not a fancy sketch, we have naught to say against them. It is not the general fault of artists when they look in the glass and draw themselves to do injustice to their beauty—and it is not a fault in Napoleon. He has, however, adhered to outlines and features, and if he has not been particular to give prominence to the wrinkles, and has been particular so to arrange his hair, as not to show his baldness: how can we blame him? Who wouldn't?

The admiration which the Emperor expresses for great men, and a sympathy with their ambition, is a sentiment which must be joined in, by generous minds all over the world. The truly great hero, is the most precious gift of providence to man; and we look up to him with feelings of reverence less ardent, only than those we feel for his maker. Let us be sure, however, that he is a hero—that he is not a concoction of self-conceit and popular adulation, tricked out in flimsy hypocrisy—a gilded nothing, a sham, an imposition. When we have really a great soul amongst us, it would be absurd to apply the rules which we apply to "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Rules are made for common mortals, and geniuses are rare exceptions. We cannot weigh a diamond on the same scales with a bundle of hay; and though we may measure calico with a yard-stick, and bacon by pound weight; when the diameter of the sun is to be calculated, other instruments must be called into requisition.

When we find a man inveighing against ambition, it may generally be concluded, having in himself none of the virtues which are kin to greatness, he is delighted if he find in the great, something akin to his littleness, and he chuckles with satisfaction when he thinks he has found the spot on the sun.

St. Pierre in his studies of nature, is fierce against ambition. But mark in what elaborate sentences, and in what rare figures he has couched his enmity. The very thing that he affects to despise, glares out in the studied phrase of denunciation. Disappointed aspirants and spirits, too grovelling even to aspire, are the assailants of ambition. Woolsey "sounding all the depths and shoals of honor," thinks ambition a fine thing; but Woolsey, the discarded favorite of Henry; "his high-blown

pride at last broke under him," says most solemnly: "Cromwell, I charge thee fling away ambition."

He himself hadn't thought of flinging it away, until it had flung him away. Those who continually seek to belittle great men, are most generally those who, unable themselves to rear a temple, have the mean ambition to acquire notice, by pulling one down.

It is not attempted by the Emperor, to show that Cæsar was not ambitious; quite the contrary, and the more honor for it; because, he sought sovereignty not as an end to selfish designs, but as the means of elevating a down-trodden people.

Napoleon is not the first champion of the great dictator. De Quincy long ago, dashed into the list, lance in hand, and boldly asserted the purity of Cæsar from the charge of being an usurper; he differs with Napoleon in some points, but they are not material; as to his general character, they utter but one opinion.

The debated points are approached fairly by the Emperor. If he asserts that Cæsar was the defender of law, rather than desiring arbitrary power, and that he did not seize the throne until it was clear, that the issue was between two parties; each seeking to monopolize it; he gives us calmly and clearly, his reasons for so thinking. When, too, he has proven certain facts in favor of Cæsar, he does not assume more. It is admitted, and is doubtless true, that Cæsar was in morals, no better than fashionable Roman Senators in those days (or fashionable Congressmen in these). But, where all were dissipated, he alone retained his sense of justice, and his integrity; and nature otherwise had endowed as a king, with the grandest powers of intellect and will, that mortal ever wielded.

True, Cæsar was given to worldly pleasures. He gave magnificent feasts; he borrowed money and forgot to pay; he wore the finest garments; dressed his hair artistically; entertained the people at gladiatorial spectacles of men fighting with beasts; and worse than this, no doubt, bought votes at elections. But let this be remembered, that at that time there was a regular brokerage in votes, and these were sold by agents just as theatre tickets are sold now. It was of course wrong, but looked upon in Rome, more as a dissipation, than a crime. In Sparta, at one time it was thought a virtue to steal, provided you were not caught at it; at Rome, this corruption was practised by all classes, and nobody thought it wrong, except those who caught their opponent indulging in it.

In France, the theatres are open on Sunday; it would certainly not be as wrong for a man to kiss his wife there on the Sabbath, as it was once in saintly New-England. So in

Rome, this vice was tolerated, and Cæsar being there, did as Rome did; that is the whole matter. The faults found in Cæsar's character, might be found in almost any contemporary politician; his virtues of head and heart, were his alone, and not one can be compared to him in courage, magnanimity, clemency, natural abilities, or attainments.

When we compare Cæsar's conduct in triumph to that of Sylla, who had seized the reigns but twenty years before, it seems scarcely credible that from the same people, and at so short a distance in time, there should have sprung up men so utterly dissimilar. In comparison, Sylla looks like a demon and Cæsar like a demi-god.

The ghastly ferocity exhibited by the contending factions of Marius and Sylla, surpass conception; and Sylla in triumph, seems the incarnation of the fierce passions of every beast and reptile. His rule was like that of the infernal triumvirate, Danton, Marat and Robespierre, in France. It was the grim boast of Sylla, that he would never spare an enemy; and the torch to the dwelling, and the dagger to the heart, was the essence of his policy. The Senators who had favored Marius, were slaughtered; towns were pillaged, burned, and prisoners, including women and children, put to the sword.

Murder became a fashionable indulgence and a fine art. If a particular luxurious scene was desired, the victims were invited to a banquet, and then massacred for entertainment. On one occasion while Sylla was conferring with the Senate, cries of pain were heard. Some of the Senators arose in alarm. "Be seated," said Sylla, in pleasant nonchalance, "it is only some wretches being punished by my order." Six thousand Samnite prisoners were being butchered.

Sylla's fertile villainy invented proscription and confiscation; and his partisans revelled in the wealth of sequestered goods, while the real owner was banished a pauper. To express the slightest sympathy was to be a traitor, and to become a martyr. Under his atrocious despotism, peace came, but no pacification. Rome held but two classes; the Syllaïtes, revelling in the magnificence of ill-gotten gain; and Maruisites, gnashing their teeth in silence, living in squalid misery and burning for revenge.

At this time Cæsar, nephew of Marius, was eighteen years of age; but he had held himself aloof from the revolution. But he was kin of Marius, and Sylla struck with the loftiness of his bearing and the reputed brilliance of his talents, saw in him a spirit that might be dangerous. He demanded him to divorce his wife, offensive to him because a niece of Marius. Cæsar refused, and had soon to flee for life. Sylla deprived him of his

priesthood; intervention of friends stayed further persecution, but Sylla yielded reluctantly, "for" said he, "there are many Mariuses in this young man." Napoleon adds to this: "Sylla had judged rightly. Many Mariuses in effect had met together in Cæsar; Marius the great Captain, but with a larger military genius; Marius the enemy of the oligarchy, but without hatred, and without cruelty; Marius, in a word no longer the man of a faction, but the man of his age."

At the age of twenty-six, Cæsar returned to Rome after spending the time intervening from his persecution by Sylla, as an attendant to Minucius, in the Mithridatic war, and, cultivating himself in oratory and literature. He became at once an energetic public man, and the champion of the people. He was soon made Pontiff, then Military Tribune; at thirty-two, Questor; at thirty-five, Curule Edile, and at thirty-seven, became Consul, and in the same year, Grand Pontiff.

At this time occurred the conspiracy of Catiline. De Quincy remarks that, "it is familiarly known that he was pretty deeply engaged in this conspiracy," and quotes as incontrovertible evidence, the remark of Suetonius, "*Niminatus inter socios Catiline.*" Napoleon takes opposite ground, and we believe the stronger, though from this distance, and with the meagre sources of information, it is impossible to decide. The attempt to implicate Cæsar, was made by Cato and his adherents, bitter political enemies of Cæsar, and unscrupulous as to the means of injuring him.

Upon the arrest of the conspirators, the Senate deliberated on their punishment, and such was the heat of feeling, that though the jurisdiction of such cases did not come within its competence, the Senate, led by Cato and Cicero, urged their immediate sentence. Cæsar's speech in their behalf, attached suspicion to him, but his course is easily explained. He was not their sympathizer, but only the upholder of law, foreseeing that if once trampled upon, it might end in anarchy and ruin.

"It may be said," said Cæsar, addressing the Senate, "who will blame your decree against the Parricides of the Republic? Time, circumstance and fortune, whose caprice governs the world. Whatever will happen to them, they will have merited; but you Senators consider the influence your decision may have upon other offenders. Abuses often grow from precedents, good in principle; but when power falls into the hands of men less enlightened, or less honest, a just and reasonable precedent receives an application contrary to justice and reason."

In our days, when Sylla Conqueror caused to be butchered Damasippus and other men, who had attained to dignities under the Republic, who did not praise such a deed? Those villains, those factious men, whose seditious had harassed the Republic, had, it was said, merited their death.

But this was the signal for a great carnage; for if any one coveted the house or land of another, or only a vase or vestment, it was somehow contrived that he should be put in the number of the proscribed."

This wise and temperate counsel did not prevail against the bitter invective of Cato, and the fiery eloquence of Cicero. The law was violated by the Senate, and the conspirators executed. What was the sequel? A few years after, there was no law in Rome but the will of a Dictator. Cæsar had pointed out the result with a finger of light. Cicero, Cæsar's enemy after the execution, acknowledged in full Senate, that he believed Cæsar guiltless of any complicity in Catiline's scheme, and collateral evidence sustains his innocence.

It was altogether inconsistent with Cæsar's character to join a faction; his whole aim was to remain aloof from all factions; to be not the man of a party, but the man of the people, independent of all parties.

Was Cæsar justified in seizing the government? If ever there was a time that called for a master, then it was, and Cæsar was the best of masters. Rome had indeed a Constitution, but no one respected it, and laws which none obeyed. The government was prostituted by a party to the low ends of avarice, ambition and personal resentment. Returning to Rome with his army fresh from the fields of their exploits in Gaul, Cæsar found a schism headed by Cato and Cicero, clamoring in the Senate for his removal contrary to law, as the military commission he held was yet within two years of its expiration. An army commanded by Pompey sustained the administration. The Senate ordered Cæsar to relinquish his command. He knew that to do so, would be to place himself at the mercy of unscrupulous enemies. Yet, unwilling to declare war, he replied that he would disband his army if they would Pompey's. It was refused. He advanced at once to the Rubicon; there he paused a moment, then said, "The die is cast," and plunging through its waters, moved with startling rapidity upon Rome. The Senate fled in dismay and Pompey retreated.

In sixty days Cæsar had made himself master of Italy without shedding a drop of blood. Inferior in numbers to Pompey, he yet advanced upon him; then seduced him away from the sea-coast, and conquered him at Pharsalia; thence he subdued Africa, then Egypt, and then at the battle of Munda, in Spain, he overthrew the last band that opposed, and was undisputed Sovereign of the Roman world. However men may differ as to Cæsar's manner of obtaining power, there can be only one opinion as to his manner of using it. The Pompeians who fell into his hands were astonished at this magnanimity. The people at first fled before his army in dismay, but soon they welcomed it as the harbinger of peace and justice. There was no pillaging, no conflagrations, no slaughter of prisoners.

Wherever his Eagles went, there was security of person and property, and enforcement of the most liberal laws. Welcomed at Rome as the Saviour of the people, Cæsar at once sought to re-establish confidence and good feeling. He declared that he knew no difference between Cæsarians and Pompeians, and that their individuality was lost in the common title of Roman citizens; and that the chief pleasure he had, was "in saving every day, one or another of those who had fought against him." He restored the statue of Pompey to its place in the Capitol, and when the head of that great general was brought him, he turned from it in tears. He recalled exiles to Rome, restored the property of the proscribed; reinvested with their honors, the children of those who had suffered under Sylla; relieved debts by cancelling a portion of the usury, and framed an Agrarian Law, looking to the interests of all. Brutus and Cassius, and others, late fighting with Pompey, were appointed to high positions in the State; passions were calmed, feuds settled, and instead of holding two parties, each carrying daggers for the other, Rome once more was the city of a great people glorying in their common ancestry, and bearing arms only for the defense of their common country.

The best evidences of Cæsar's genius, are not his splendid victories in Gaul, in Britain, in Italy, in Africa, in Egypt, in Spain; not that he was by general acknowledgment, second in oratory, in a country that boasted of a Cicero; not that while arranging the details of vast armies he found time to compose a history, that is a model of simplicity and purity of style; not that he excelled amongst many competitors as a General, a Lawgiver, a Jurist, an Historian, a Philologist, a Mathematician, and an Architect; but that when passions were seething like molten lava, he turned them into harmless channels and cooled them down; that he appeased hatred, restrained cruelty, and harmonized conflicting elements, and raising the minds of all above the mere schemes of a party; he interested them in grand enterprises looking to the glory and improvement of the whole.

Cæsar's course teaches this lesson that "the worst use you can put a man to is to hang him;" that the next worst is to persecute him; that the best use is to elevate him, by setting the example of moderation and magnanimity.

He did not pause at the restoration of peace. His mind sweeping the horizon like a telescope brought near the most distant objects, and then penetrating them with the scrutiny of a microscope, saw their construction and apprehended their meaning. Magnificent plans were meditated looking to the foundation of great institutions and internal improvements

rose up as if by magic. The first public library was established; a full digest of Roman Laws was contemplated; and a scheme set on foot to drain the Pontine marshes; to enlarge the harbor of Ostia, and dig a canal through the isthmus of Corinth; he revived the sanctity of marriage; founded thriving colonies in Corinth and Carthage; erected fine public buildings, and framed the Julian Calendar, which exists with slight modification at the present day.

In the full vigor of this splendid career, Cæsar fell at the base of Pompey's statue; the very statue which he himself had reared to his noble foe, and by the hand of Brutus whom he had loaded with benefits. Thus passed away "the foremost man of all the world." His genius had undertaken almost everything, and had excelled in whatsoever it undertook. Never has there met together in one human being such rare endowments; grace of person, eloquence of speech, accomplishments in every branch of knowledge, and a daring brilliance of action beyond language to describe; and crowning all, the delicacy of a woman and the tenderness of a child. Well did he merit the eulogy of Antony:

"This was the noblest Roman of them all.
His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, This is a man."

Other men in Rome could make parties; he alone could unite them. Any common blunderers could make wounds; he alone had the skill to heal them. His reign, compared to that of Sylla before, and those of Caligula and Nero after him, looks like the glorious summer blossoming out between the barren desolation of February and the withered desolation of November. The fine speech which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Brutus is the mere license of the drama. History does not justify it. He was guilty of perfidy, cowardice, ingratitude and base selfishness. He had slain Cæsar, "not that he loved Cæsar less, or that he loved Rome more," but that he loved Brutus most. He had committed worse than a crime—a blunder, and the clock of the universe went back a century. To condense our admiration of the greatest and mildest of monarchs, we would change the deceit of the murderer, and say: "There are tears for his love, joy for his fortune, honor for his valor, and immortality for his ambition."

As to the Royal author who has drawn so graphically his great model, our esteem for him as a sovereign, a man, and a writer, is summed up in that vivid outflash of his people's love; "Vive l'Empereur!" Having set his eyes upon the throne in youth, he has marched to it with the steadiness of

destiny. He has been a soldier without warring on women and children, and without adding to the profession of arms the profession of the hangman or the jailer. He is a statesman who scorns the jealousies of a partizan, and a conqueror who does not assert the "divine right" to persecute those who honestly opposed him, and he is a monarch whose name itself is a victory for peace, magnanimity and knowledge; and who is now admitted as equal in letters to the high distinction he has long since attained in statesmanship and in arms. True, in this book the Lion has painted and has portrayed himself astride of men; but we are only glad that when the French called for a ruler, Jupiter sent down, not a log that did nothing, nor a stork that eat them up, but a Lion, whose roar is never heard and whose claws are never seen except by their enemies.

ART. II.—WHAT'S TO BE DONE WITH THE NEGROES?

THIS question would be easy enough to answer if the radical leaders of the North, who have almost entire control of the subject, possessed one vestige of faith; faith in the past, in the prescriptive, in human nature, in human experience, in human laws and institutions, in human habits and customs, in legal analogies, in divine commands, in fine, had they faith in anything. But they have faith in nothing, and wildly and rashly speculate about everything. They are Rationalists all. And rationalism means, or inevitably leads to infidelity in all things. He who makes reason his sole guide, who will accept nothing that does not concur with his reason, must find, if he be capable of logical analysis and concatenated ratiocination, that he will have to reject every thing in the material and in the moral world as false, spurious, nay, as non-existent. Everything that does exist, or that we believe to exist, is unreasonable, simply because it is super-reasonable. Reason, boldly, fearlessly, profanely applied to the universe itself, dissolves the universe into thin, airy nothing, and leaves a few vagrant Ideas floating through the immensity of space. He is no philosopher, but an ignorant charlatan, who has not reasoned himself to this conclusion, who has not discovered, that all reasoning, which does not adopt faith for its premises, if pushed to its ultimate consequences, leads to gross fallacy and glaring absurdity.

But the Goddess of Reason is as devotedly worshipped by our Northern rulers, as she ever was by the *canaille*, the statesmen and philosophers of Paris in the days of Robespierre and the guillotine.

Our rulers are rationalists, and rationalism is the appalling

evil of the day, for it has declared, and is maintaining, open war against everything in heaven or on earth.

There is hardly a reformer in New England, who would not undertake to make to order a far better social, moral, political and religious world, than this old crazy thing we live in. He would be certain to undertake it, if he could secure the Patent Right. One may be intimate with them for a month, without discovering the peculiar monomania; but they are all crazy on some point.

We of the South would not find much difficulty in managing the negroes, at least tolerably well, if left to ourselves, for we would be guided by the lights of experience and the teachings of history, sacred and profane. We are not perfectionists, like the Northern people, and should not expect, or try, to make Solomons, nor even Fred Douglasses of the negroes. We should be satisfied to compel them to engage in coarse, common manual labor, and to punish them for dereliction of duty or nonfulfillment of their contracts with sufficient severity, to make the great majority of them useful, productive laborers. We would take care of, in the most humane and ample manner, those, unable to provide for and take care of themselves; but they should be no charge or burden on the whites. By a tax on the labor of the strong and healthy negroes we would raise a sufficient fund to provide comfortable subsistence for the weak, infirm and aged negroes. We should treat them as mere grown-up children, entitled like children, or apprentices, to the protection of guardians or masters, and bound to obey those put above them, in place of parents, just as children are so bound. We think them no better, nay, not half so good as white sailors or soldiers, and even, if they were capable of taking care of themselves, like white adults, we see no reason why they should not be compelled to the specific performance of their labor contracts, just as sailors are. White men who violate such contracts may be sued for damages, for as a class, white men have very generally, something wherewith to pay damages. But negroes have no property, and if not liable, like white sailors and soldiers for breach of their contracts, they will be above all law, and worthless as laborers. The good negroes would suffer most in the absence of such legal redress, for no one would give half a fair hire for negroes, who could at any moment quit them with impunity. The bad negroes could live by theft, without employment, but the good and honest ones would starve. The wages of negroes would at once be increased a third, if the hirer could take them before a justice and have them punished for misconduct or breach of contract.

Negroes will not provide in summer for the wants of winter, nor in youth for the exigencies of age, unless compelled so to do. The government of every country is bound to take care of all its citizens or subjects; from the results of the industry of all. To punish idleness is the first and most incumbent duty of government; and the punishment should be severe enough to prevent or correct the evil. Vagrant laws are hardly needed by the whites, and they sleep upon our statute books. The white race is naturally provident and accumulative, and but few of them thieves. They have many wants, and to supply those wants, generally labor assiduously and continually. Little legal regulation is needed to induce white men to work. But a great deal of severe legislation will be required to compel negroes to labor as much as they should do, in order not to become a charge upon the whites. We must have a black code, and not confound white men with negroes, because one in a thousand may be no better than the negroes.

Some negroes are sufficiently provident and industrious, to be left like white men, to take care of themselves without danger of their supporting themselves by theft in youth, and becoming a charge on the public in old age. Such persons would suffer nothing from a severe black code that compelled negroes to labor and to fulfil their engagements, under the penalty of punishment. Laws are necessarily general in their character, and work injustice in peculiar cases. Yet we must have laws however hardly they may sometimes operate. The law makes the husband the master of the wife, yet how often does it happen that the thing should be reversed, and the woman be put at the head of the family and the husband be compelled to obey her.

Generally men are best qualified to be the heads of families, and the law is right that recognizes them as such. Our Northern cousins mistake the exceptional for the normal and general, and would have all the women wear the breeches. We love and admire the ladies so much, that we feel half inclined to become a Woman's Rights man, yet we fear that women in breeches (or bloomer) might become coarser and viler than even the men, for we have observed that when woman is bad, she stops at nothing. Well, now, if the white woman can't complain, justly, that they are not put on an equality with the men, but really become, in legal contemplation, slaves, so soon as they are married, why should the negroes, male or female, complain that they are subordinated to the male whites. As a class are negro men superior to white women? Should not the right of suffrage be conferred on white women before it is

given to negro men? Every Republican at the North, would give superior legal and political rights to negro men, over white women. Immemorial law, divine and human, custom and usages have in all countries and ages subordinated woman to man. We of the South have faith in the past, faith in the course of nature, faith in the fiat of the Almighty, and do not profanely question the propriety and necessity of this subordination of the female to the male.

But immemorial usage, law, custom and divine injunction, nay human nature itself, have subordinated inferior races to superior races. Never did the black man come in contact with the white man, that he did not become his subordinate, if not his slave. We must quite expel nature before we can make the negroes the equals of the whites, or even so elevate them, as to fit them to be governed by a code so mild as that which suffices to govern whites. All whites under twenty-one are denied the rights and privileges of adults, are in a state of pupillage and *quasi* slavery. We have reserved for the last this legal analogy, this universal custom and usage among civilized peoples, and even among savages. Infants, that is, those who have not arrived at the age of physical and intellectual manhood, have, we repeat, in all countries been denied the rights and privileges of adults, and kept in a state of pupillage or *quasi* slavery. This is the dictate of universal nature, and must be right. Now, are there not twenty whites under the age of twenty-one, better qualified to enjoy and exercise the full rights of equal citizenship, where there is one negro of any age so qualified? If so, the hardship is twenty times as great of retaining white boys in a state of pupillage, as of so retaining the negroes, as a class. As a class, neither boys nor negroes are fitted to exercise the rights of citizenship, and as sure as there is a sun in the Heaven, the negro will be remitted to a state of pupillage, or exterminated. He needs protection quite as much as white women, or white boys, and they who are protected must be controlled and abridged in their liberties. It is sheer nonsense to talk of extending special protection to any class of people, without at the same time abridging their liberties. We hope, indeed, we believe, the Freedmen's Bureau will not perpetrate this nonsense. It does extend complete and most costly protection to the negroes, but this protection will operate most ruinously to North and South, and to the negroes themselves, unless they be compelled to fulfil their duties as laborers. If the Bureau will force them to labor, as the emancipated white slaves of England were forced to labor, it will do much to benefit the North and the South, and more to benefit the negroes themselves; for it is

on such terms alone, that they can be saved from a cruel and tedious extermination.

No one doubts that it is the duty of government to appoint guardians or masters for white infants, who have lost their parents, their natural guardians or masters. It is the most precious right of infants, that they are entitled to have such masters appointed. But it is more clearly the duty of government to appoint guardians, or patrons, or masters for negroes of all ages, for they are the inferior of white infants. But should the government neglect this obvious duty, the negro freedmen, like the Roman freedmen, will choose patrons, or masters for themselves. Probably half of them have already done so. Mere law cannot sufficiently govern negroes, any more than it can govern sailors, or soldiers, or infants. They need masters of some sort, as well to protect as to govern them. And masters they will have, or soon perish and disappear from the face of the earth.

ART. III.—THE FEDERAL UNION—NOW AND HEREAFTER.

THE question mainly to be considered of our subject is: Under what institutions are men and the nation most likely to advance? We recognize in all nations some ruling political principle, some ruling idea, which is—that it may advance itself and take rank as a benefactor of the human race. The national mind is not to be shut up in its own spiritual nature. It must act on matter. There must be an harmony between its public and national life. There must be a close alliance between inward and outward improvements. Distinct apprehensions by those devoted to legislation, to the development of moral and physical truths, must be properly associated to call forth the spring-tides of improvement. These things, sufficiently recognized and fully acted upon, will triumph over every obstacle—perpetually extending the great source of moral and physical good. The interesting relations and dependences of life are then so framed that men become fitted for the growth of power, for civil government, for the arm of industry, for redeeming the wilderness, for opening smiling fields, for planting opulent cities, for every thing that is spread around them. What cause have we for boasting? What is Liberty? What have we done to overcome the mighty barriers and lay the pillars of our political fabric upon an imperishable foundation? Have we made America conspicuous at a distance? Have we consoled ourselves that we were superior to other nations? Have we burned incense upon the altar

of our national vanity, and forfeited our patriotism and virtue? In some respects we are guilty, and let us proceed to count the cost. With a people whose government and laws are nothing but the embodying of party spirit, to become fashioned in a foreign mould, after its own pleasures, and into whose minds the thoughts and wishes of foreigners are poured perpetually, we should not consider it as a strange result if the bonds of our Union had long since been broken and our Republic ruptured into fragments. A people having its own character, its own nationality, its own feelings, has a never-failing source of independent existence, which always enlarges and strengthens itself. A deep and concentrated energy is needed to sustain national prosperity and social well-being when man does not value himself as man, when there is so much mental darkness and mental bondage. Under such influences, men cannot understand why it is they have to submit to new results, undergo new trials. Among a people called to discuss great questions, to contend for great interests, to make great sacrifices for the public weal, to explore new paths, to reap new harvests, in the science of political philosophy, all with a purpose to prevent political decomposition, or to encourage renovation from abuses, unexpected energies of ripe and discriminating statesmanship must be brought to bear. This is God's political education for the human race, and all other methods to solve the problem of the future are vain attempts. However startling this fact may seem, and though it may be the admiration of one and the hatred of another, it is nevertheless true. The germs of mischief which have given birth to all modern revolutions, have usually been born from some popular formula transferring the patriot's allegiance to the insatiate rage of horrible and murderous passions. Therefore, there has been a vulgarizing tendency in modern politics. The genius of all revolutions takes us back to this starting point, showing that the political horizon was overspread with social wrath, ready to crush out the fondest hopes. It would seem, therefore, that we have yet great principles, great questions in morals and politics to be viewed under new aspects. We may, to accomplish this result, naturally expect to meet with many sacrifices. The bonds which held our nation together, have been rent asunder. We have now to be looked at from a new stand-point among the nations of the earth. The grievances which the United States have so long suffered (whether in part, real or imaginary) have been thoroughly probed and brought to light before the world. The recent civil war was the inevitable result growing out of these. And in what does it differ from other modern political revolutions? Perhaps, in nothing more than a honest difference of

opinion as to Constitutional rights and principles. It is said that the first American revolution was fought for a principle and the maintenance of a principle. It was found, or at least it was supposed, that Great Britain was sorely oppressing her American colonies. In what way was she doing this? By drawing from them a large internal revenue by taxation without any representation in Parliament. The colonies said, "that taxation without representation was slavery," and they would resist such British encroachment upon their political rights. They did so, and went to war, and fought eight years to gain Independence. They were successful, and laid the foundation for a new and constitutional government inaugurated by Washington. But the Convention that met at Philadelphia to frame this Constitution for the American people, planted the germs of political parties, which in time have grown into monstrous proportions, and the very being of their own creation they have now despoiled with their own hands. They have plucked it up, root and branch, and thrown it out "to moulder and to rot in the winds and rains of heaven." Vain attempt thus to mantle the nation in darkness—rather give it a Promethean light—a "light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." These most zealous advocates of Freedom and the cause of national liberty, perhaps, fond of the love and passion of power, contended that to preserve our Government pure and spotless, very energetic measures were absolutely necessary for its preservation. Rulers, therefore, possessing the power to "devise ways and means," met in conventions, adopted "platforms," with "such rules and regulations" as they deemed best, and in honor to abide by and carry out—not so much for the benefit of the country as for their own aggrandizement. Some of these were adopted at Chicago, some at Charleston, some at Richmond, some at Baltimore and some at Cincinnati in 1860, and various others too tedious to mention, at other places. These Juggernaut institutions ordained, after the manner of the "Roman See," Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Breckinridge and Mr. Bell. But schisms arose among them, and the "crown" fell to Mr. Lincoln. In 1861 he was placed in the chair of State, and took the accustomed oath to support the Constitution. In his Inaugural, which is laconic and brief, he reviews the affairs of the country, and maintains he must run the machine as he found it, according to his oath and the requirements of the Constitution. It was regarded by him as perilous, and involving great and serious responsibilities; but with a deep and heartfelt gratitude to Almighty God for the peace and preservation of the country, he entered on his duties, hoping that by

the special protection of Divine Providence the impending clouds might be dissipated. The Senate and House of Representatives was a Pandemonium—a Cassius and a Brutus were there.

But we are somewhat in advance of our argument. Let us review briefly Mr. Buchanan's administration and some of its antecedents. The seeds of sedition and dissolution were sown into a fruitful political soil, to bring forth a rich harvest to its respective parties, at the coming in of Missouri, 1821. What is called the "Restrictive Clause" was wont to be incorporated into her Constitution by the House of Representatives. The Senate refused to concur in passing this bill, and the measure was lost, and she was finally admitted without it. This germinating principle, however, had been let drop into a fruitful soil. It springs up rapidly into the life and vigor of youth and manhood, and becomes gigantic and terrible in strength. Its light was not "hidden under a bushel." It lit up the dark recesses of the council chambers, and as a guiding star it threw its bright and effulgent rays athwart the pilgrim land. It was not the voice of a ghostly apparition, neither was it the "dread of something after death, that puzzles the will." It was as Hercules strangling in their infant cradles those who were worshipping the Hindoo gods, the "Chandelahs," of whom the prayer and soul was, that the enraged "Elephant" should crush out to all eternity for the sins of the world. In the beginning of this "Reformation" there were no very signal victories by either "belligerents."

But ever and anon a great panic came over the armed hosts; they were threatened by disastrous defeat. The "sharpshooters," reconnoitering their forces and skirmishing with their enemy, met on the plains of Kansas, 1858, and fought the bloody battle of Lecompton. It was a Wellington victory and more than a Waterloo defeat. But President Buchanan, who was in command, granted a short truce until November, 1860, when the "Democratic Army" surrendered to Mr. Lincoln, and were paroled on "honor," and permitted to return to "wives, children and friends." No serious acts of hostility were committed by either army until "General Secession" took command of the Southern forces, and made an attack and carried Fort Sumter, 1861. "General Consolidation," then in charge of the Northern Army, met the opposing forces at Charleston to defend the boasted land of Liberty and the rights given to the American people. The revolution began from the broad Atlantic to the innermost waters of the "sunny South," and disunion had stirred up all the sanguinary elements for an exhausting and bloody civil war. The great "issue" was then

upon its mission of "life and death"—for the perpetuity or overthrow of republican institutions.

However deep our attachments may be to Liberty, these are warnings which should teach us to reprobate its oppressors. What are all our histories but a peculiar dread and abhorrence of the love of power? In the name of Liberty, it has inflicted more evils on the human family than all others. It has convulsed all civilized nations, spread desolation and bankruptcy through every household.

But what is the office of a well-directed government and the duties of a properly subordinated people in respect to their support towards it? We conceive it the first duty of a government to remove all barriers from the people, so as to keep the people together, to keep them from injuring themselves. It is the duty of the people, in the first place, to cultivate moral culture. Government can render important aids to its people by thus infusing this principle into the national life. Virtue and intelligence can alone elevate any people to a high rank in the scale of nations. Prosperity and permanent happiness can only be secured and maintained by this course. All others are failures. In a government like ours, where the power is lodged in the people, the great question is the spirit of wise and moral freedom to be generated and diffused. To awaken a proper degree of solicitude for generous principles as a bond of union, a deep sympathy, a spotless purity, rooted in the conscience and reason of the whole people, is the philosophy for building up and perpetuating free institutions. Did not France fail through the want of a proper moral preparation. She was too corrupt for freedom. There was too great political ignorance for her to win her way to free institutions. The like causes apply to Poland, Hungary and Italy in their great struggles for liberty, and have made their countries a slaughter-house, a prey of rapacity and insolence. They have been trampled on, spoiled, oppressed like beasts of burden, with terrible sufferings.

Here was a systematic suppression of freedom. But in what has it differed from the supposed wrongs of the American people in giving rise to her revolution? Despotism, no matter from what source it comes, or what names it may assume, will convulse the peace and independence of nations. The history of all modern revolutions is a sad commentary upon the wisdom and sagacity of nations. In what does the superiority of Republican institutions differ from that of absolute governments? The superiority of our institutions by many is supposed to be, not that they give the greatest freedom, but that they give every man a chance of ruling. The result is, that

political ambition infects our country, generates a feverish restlessness and discontent. The spirit of intrigue can accomplish no political purposes single-handed. Men band themselves into parties, ostensibly framed for public ends, but aiming, really, at the acquisition of power. The people, like all other sovereigns, are courted and flattered, and told they can do no wrong. Their pride is pampered, their passions inflamed, their prejudices made inveterate. These, we think, have been the usual processes by which Republics have been subverted, and any one must be blind who cannot see that these have been the causes that have endangered our country. There is a pernicious influence in political life. There is a delusion about it, there is a danger about it. To govern others! Oh! what a blushing shame that fills the page of history! This has always been thought the highest function on earth. We have the intrigues of cabinets, the quarrels of courtiers, sieges and battles; these are the staples of history. But what is the mark of the progress of society, of rulers, of government? As we have said, it is the growth of virtue and intelligence. These are the great interests of all communities, rulers and government. Human legislation must address itself to these ends as the noblest agency, the essentials to human happiness. The wealth of all nations is in its people. Government is not the spring or source. It cannot confer but little positive benefit; it can be productive of incalculable evil. However, it is a needful protection, though it cannot till our fields, weave the ties that bind us to our families, or give energy to the intellect and will. Government, then, can do but little to advance the chief interests of human nature by its direct agency. It may do something, it is true, in its functions in this respect. But the sacrifices, the scrambles for office, the appeals to base passions, are the prevailing errors which the direct influence of Government too often employ to compass political ends, for the great advantages that might accrue to the country. The chief interest which Government is expected to watch, and on which it is competent to act with power, so as to enrich its people, is its wholesome legislation. It is not to be expected of this that it should, as was done by Henry the Eighth, regulate and establish all the domestic relations. But laws are absolutely essential. Man, from the inherent tendency of his nature, needs their restraining influence. But to shackle and bind him, worse than the restive animal, with bits in his mouth, chains upon his hands, is no part of the policy of civilization and political institutions. We confess that we have in the administration of justice in this country, often turned with pain and humiliation from the Hall of Congress, where

we have seen the legislator, forgetting the majesty of his function, forgetting his relation to a vast and growing community, sacrificing to his party or himself the public weal. To this department of government we cannot ascribe too much importance. We should feel it to be a duty to ourselves, and to our country, to hold up to unmeasured reprobation him who would establish an empire of brute force over rational beings. Woe, woe to the impious hands which have shaken our most sacred column of social and political liberty; who have desecrated this holy fabric with bloody hands, as the enemies of their race, that would fetter the human mind and subject other wills to their own. We are not inclined to elaborate on this branch of our subject, notwithstanding it is of unrivaled interest in both our present and future history. If we were to add any other opinion to those that have been implied, thus far, in the prosecution of our work, we should say that the main cause of our revolution rested in a honest difference of theory of our government. Our Constitution was formed, by its framers, in such a manner that there was much left in its interpretation to be supplied by logical deduction. This, necessarily, gave rise to differences of opinion and much latitudinarian legislation. Its deficiencies were early seen and were attempted to be remedied by amendments. Political theories, of the true nature and character of our government, under this order of facts, were an almost necessary consequence. We have said, that, in the convention which adopted the Constitution, was the first germ of political parties. They grew up, rather by rapid strides; developed themselves in John Adams and Thomas Jefferson's administrations; became particularly conspicuous during that of John Quincy Adams; manifested themselves, alarmingly, in the organization of the Hartford Convention, in opposition to the war against Great Britain in 1812; and particularly obnoxious in the scheme for dismembering the Union, which organized at Boston in 1826, in which, it is said, Mr. Adams himself was one of the great movers. In 1832 it grew into large and huge dimensions in South Carolina, in the shape of "Nullification Ordinances," which was only suppressed by the administrative ability of President Jackson. On the annexation of the Republic of Texas to the Union it culminated in a merciless and cruel war with Mexico, thus marking our country by the stupendousness of its acquisitions.

Other causes and different conclusions may be arrived at by political philosophers, by some new law of combination of elementary principles, a kind of catalytic phenomena, inherent in the original organism. The aims and tendencies of all causes are to produce, both in the physical and moral worlds,

their corresponding effects; and these are mere matters for observation and experiment to definitely settle. Any unusual variation from usual or known results are to be regarded as perturbations incompatible with the harmony and durability of both systems. Then, there are mutual relations in the moral world as invariably established as there are in the physical world; and a violation of any of these, whether in the one or the other, necessarily inflicts a greater or less evil, as the case may be. There is no deception in this law. If a people attempt to set up new schemes for the development of social well-being, to settle the disputed points of difference, as to the proposed plans or methods for doing this, with a view to elevate its standard abroad or among themselves, they are very prone to imbibe revolutionary ideas, and end in civil war. This, at least, has been the course of such things in other countries. This revolution is to be regarded as a transition movement. Its aim was to give security to cardinal principles on the part of the South, under the rights guaranteed to it by the Constitution. The radical school of the North desired to indoctrinate new principles, to engraft them into our republican government, widen the Constitution, by implied doctrines, to meet the developments and rising demands that they believed our national life so absolutely required. In the organization of their methods for doing this, we are carried back in our history for forty years or more. By slow, then by rapid progress, it has played its part on the public drama, saying, "Speak of me as I am; I have done the state some service." If the record does not belie itself, it speaks of intrigue and corruption. Its advent into power speaks well and truly what has been accomplished by their fell purpose, concentrated, consolidated Despotism! Where, then, are the prospects of the United States? Magna Charta is said to have broken down the Norman tyranny. The Constitution of the United States must, then, succumb to Radicalism in this, the enlightened nineteenth century, and the liberties of the American people be exposed to a growing despotism. The great rights of society, life liberty and the pursuit of happiness, are to be fenced around, by a fierce and powerful Monarchy. A Reconstruction Committee—a French Directory—become the mandate of the Dictator's Imperial Power. The Judiciary, the sum of the nation's existence, are to be marked out on the statute-book, "false, deceitful and treacherous." The Freedmen's Bureau Bill—the Civil Rights Bill—forcibly discriminates their legislative policy as the light of a New Reformation, a new National policy! Federal authority everything; State legislation nothing. The black race everything; the white race nothing!

It "prefers negroes to foreigners." The internal policy and economy of the States, and the well-being of its own citizens, are all placed under Federal prohibition. This catalogue of evils, enough to damn and disgrace any nation forever, not to mention numerous others incidentally growing out of these, being furnished, who will dare venture to work out the problem of results? If this does not sap and destroy our Federative system, we are at a loss to know what would? In the language of President Johnson, these things must "resuscitate the spirit of rebellion, and arrest the progress of those influences which are more closely drawing around the States the bonds of peace and union." It necessarily follows that our unfortunate condition is growing worse, and that a reign of terror is to be set up, perhaps, unparalleled in the world's history. There is but one line of policy, and that should be immediately adopted, which is, for the Radical party to "ground its arms," make peace, and establish a reconciliation upon the basis of the President's policy of Reconstruction.

ART. IV.—IMPROVEMENT OF OUR RIVERS.—THE APPOMATTOX OF VIRGINIA.

The following contribution is as applicable to the improvement of our river waters generally as to those of the Appomattox, and is furnished to the *Review* by Mr. Stein, who is one of the best hydrographical engineers in the country.—
Editor.

BEFORE entering upon the subject which I intend to discuss in this paper,—“The Improvement of the Tidal Compartment of the Appomattox River,”—I will take the liberty of making a few preliminary remarks, which may enable the unprofessional reader to understand more readily and more clearly the principles in view of which a plan for the improvement of a tidal river should be directed, and in conformity with which it should be carried out.

When the water of a river meets with no obstacles, it has generally its greatest velocity at or near the surface in the middle of the bed and least at the bottom and sides; but when it meets with some obstruction in its course, it appears to stop moving, forms a remove or rise of the surface, and produces a complete transformation in the whole of its section. The velocity at the surface may become almost insensible, while that at the bottom is strong.

Where the channel of a river is immoderately contracted, the surface rises in front of the contraction and produces a transformation in the direction of the veins of water. The particles at the surface, which had the greatest velocity, are retarded, while those at the bottom acquire a very considerable velocity; consequently the water becomes deeper where the contraction is, but the material scoured out by the current from the narrow part of the channel is

deposited in the wider part below where the current is more languid, and thus the depth is diminished, in order to equalize the sectional area which the river is capable of keeping open.

An expansion of the bed of a river, and an increase in the length of its perimeter in contact with water, beyond its regular limits, increase the retarding forces, diminish the velocity and momentum of the passing stream, and the surface of the water above the expansion is forced to rise until it has generated an additional head, and acquired an additional momentum, so as to enable it to discharge its volume through this expansion of the bed, by which a part of the moving force is absorbed.

An island in the channel of a river increases the length of the wetted perimeter, diminishes the velocity and momentum of the stream, and the surface of the river above the island must rise above its original level to give an additional momentum to the stream, so as to enable it to discharge the water through the two branches that enclose the island. Shoals are formed in the bed immediately above and below the island, on account of the increased width of the stream.

All changes of direction of the line of current obstruct the free passage of water in rivers, and the more sudden they are the more disadvantageous their effect. The resistance to the free passage of water occasioned by this cause is likewise overcome by a rise of the surface of the river, or head of water.

If the bed of a river were properly regulated and directed, and the sides well defended, the current would work to obtain in depth what it cannot in width, and the bed of the river being lowered, and consequently the surface of low water, the flood-tide would be propagated more rapidly, and a much larger quantity of tidal water would be admitted.

The channel best calculated to receive the flood-tide most readily is that which gradually narrows up stream. For, as it advances up a channel so constructed, its momentum is preserved in a great degree by the sustained pressure of the larger body of water behind it, moving in the same direction, until, at the head, from having no escape, it is forced to rise to a higher level. On the other hand, if the channel of the river were straight and the breadth or transverse section the same all the way down, the velocity of the flood stream, as it advanced up, would be reduced by friction, and, consequently, as less tidal-water would be forced or thrown into the river, there would be a corresponding loss of scouring power on the return of the ebb.

The sedimentary matter with which the water of a river is, in a greater or less degree, charged, comes from above, and, as it has been set in motion and brought down by the weight and velocity of the water, so it will subside and become stationary whenever it meets with a place of rest. In like manner substances, which are pushed onward along the bottom of the bed by the weight and velocity of the water above them, come to rest whenever such

weight and velocity are sufficiently diminished. But as the mechanical effect produced upon the bottom of the bed of a river by the ebb tide is far greater than by the flood, there is always a constant tendency to force such matter outwards to the sea.

The scouring power of a river, or the force with which the current acts upon the bottom of the bed, is in proportion to the depth or weight and velocity of the water, consequently the greater the depth and velocity the greater the scouring power.

With these few remarks, by way of introduction, I will now enter upon the subject more immediately contemplated in this paper, which first engaged my attention a good many years ago, and the importance of which has rendered it, at various times since, a subject of reflection sufficiently interesting to me.

The city of Petersburg, Va., is situated on the Appomattox river, a little below the falls, and about $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles above its mouth at City Point, where it empties itself into the James river. The influence of the tide does not extend above the falls, and at Petersburg, according to the report of the "Commission" on the Improvement of the Appomattox River, November 26, 1852, its ordinary rise is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with little difference between that place and City Point.

From City Point to Point of Rocks, a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water can be carried. At Point of Rocks the river divides into two channels, and the difficulties of navigation are to be found in that part of the river between Point of Rocks and Petersburg, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long. From Petersburg to Point of Rocks the course of the river is so circuitous, and the width of the channel is so irregular, that the resistance to the regular flow of the water from the bends, in some places, and the excessive width of the bed in others, has led to the deposit of sedimentary matter, and the formation of islands, dividing the river into two and sometimes three channels, thus dissipating the volume of water in the river, retarding the propagation of the flood-tide, and diminishing the quantity and velocity of the back-water, so as almost to destroy the scouring power of the river. Such is the condition of the channel between Point of Rocks and Petersburg, that though the depth of water in front of the wharves at the latter place is $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet at ordinary high tide, no vessel drawing more than about 7 feet can get up to the city.

With the view of improving this defective condition of the river, and rendering it navigable for larger vessels, a Commission was appointed in 1852, to consider the best mode of carrying out the proposed improvement. In their report, November 26th, in that year, they recommended that a channel, 60 feet wide at the bottom, should be excavated by dredging.

Any improvement in the navigation of the river, between Petersburg and Point of Rocks, to be really valuable, or even worth the cost of its execution, must be of such a character, both as regards the depth and width of the channel proposed to be made, as would permit the larger vessels engaged in the Petersburg trade, on arriving in the river, to pass up directly to the city and unload, and when

loaded to run down without any detention or delay from, or any interference with, inward or outward bound vessels. Now, I contend, that the channel recommended by the Commission, of the dimensions above specified, would be too narrow and contracted to be either safe or convenient, and too limited in capacity, to meet the requirements of the Petersburg trade, and that, even if it were practicable, it would turn out so little of an improvement, and would fall so far short of the expectations and desires of those really interested in the improvement of the river, that it would not be worth the cost of execution.

The very same report of the Commission, referred to above, suggests another objection by no means to be overlooked. It says: "The freshet of 1851 rose to about 6½ feet above ordinary high water at the city wharf, and that of 1852 to about 6 feet. The low islands in the stream, and the lateral channels, giving room for the water to spread, the rise was but little felt at Broadway." A question arises, then, whether a channel, of the capacity specified by the Commission, would be sufficient to give such vent to the accumulated waters of such freshets as would obviate all danger of overflow. My opinion is, that a channel, too contracted to give free and rapid vent to such freshets as sometimes occur in the Appomattox river, would cause the waters to rise to such a head at Petersburg as would certainly produce effects highly injurious, if not utterly destructive, to the navigation of the river and to the adjacent lands.

The narrow capacity of the channel would also have another injurious effect. The propagation of the flood-tide would be retarded, the quantity that could reach Petersburg would be greatly diminished, and consequently, there would be a corresponding loss in the velocity and scouring power of the back-water during the ebb.

But the most objectionable feature in the whole plan, as recommended by the "Commission," is the mode by which it is proposed to execute the work—dredging. There are cases, no doubt, where dredging may be highly useful. For a lake, where there is neither tide nor current, dredging may be useful to deepen the approach to the wharves of a city built upon its shore, or in any body of still water where it may be necessary to lower the bed, or even in some cases where the part of the bed of a river is composed of compact clay too hard for the current to wear away readily, or where the bed is covered with materials too heavy for the current to take up or push along the bottom. But in a river where the bottom consists of sand and alluvial soil, and where there is a current sufficiently strong to bring down sand and sediment, as long as the causes which led to their deposit remain, dredging is neither necessary nor useful. It is not necessary, because the current which brought them down and deposited them, if properly directed and its velocity restored, will again remove them farther down. Neither is it useful, except as a mere temporary expedient, because no sooner does the dredge lift its load of sand and mud from the bottom than the river begins the work of replacing them, and filling up the hole

so made, and as the river works night and day, never sleeps, and keeps no day of rest, the result is inevitable. That hole will soon be filled up, unless the hand of God should stop the current, or the act of man change its direction. Therefore, I contend that the improvement of the Appomattox river by dredging alone is utterly impracticable.

In reflecting upon the defective condition of a river with the view of improving its navigable capacity, the first inquiry should be, What are the causes which produced that defective condition? The causes being ascertained, the first step in the work of improvement should be the removal of these causes. That being accomplished, the natural force of the river, properly used and properly directed, will gradually but certainly bring about all the improvement of which it is capable. In examining that part of the Appomattox river between Petersburg and Point of Rocks it will be seen at once that the causes which led to its present defective condition, are, the circuitous course of the river and the want of regularity in the bed. As long as these causes are permitted to remain, the navigable condition of the river can never be permanently improved; for, as they have acted in the past, so they will continue to act in the future, with always a greater tendency to increase their effect. But remove those causes, that is, move the course of the river as nearly direct as it can well be made, confine its waters to one channel, and regulate that channel with a view to a properly graduated width, and the natural consequences will follow. The resistance of the bends being in a great measure, if not altogether, removed, and the whole volume of water in the river being confined to one channel regulated to a proper width, the velocity of the stream, and consequently its scouring power will be increased, the sedimentary matter deposited in the bed through want of sufficient velocity in the current will be removed, the surface of the bed gradually lowered, and the depth of water increased. While from the less resistance offered to the flood-tide by the straightening of the course of the river, the regulation of its channel, and the washing out of the shoals, its propagation will be more rapid, the quantity of tidal water passing up will be much larger, and the volume and velocity of the back-water, that is, its scouring power, will be indefinitely increased on the ebb. In this case also, it should be considered, that as a defective condition of the channel of a river has always a tendency to become worse, so, on the same principle, an improved condition has a tendency to become better.

To effect an improvement so great and so important to the navigable capacity of the tidal compartment of the Appomattox river, I would propose the formation of a single channel, as nearly straight as possible, gradually diminishing in width from 500 feet at Point of Rocks to 200 feet at Petersburg, between banks well defended and secured from wastage. The work would be carried out by degrees, each step being quite complete in itself, but at the same time a part of the whole which might be extended at pleasure. If

fully carried out and maintained, it would have the effect of equalizing the current and the bed of the river, removing shoals, and increasing the navigable water-way. I am confident that the execution of such a channel would be attended by the most complete success, and that instead of the present unsafe, shallow and winding channel, one would be secured with a sufficient depth of water to be navigable for large vessels.

The sectional area of the stream at Petersburg is about 1,500 square feet at high water, while that at Point of Rocks is about 7,000 square feet. But as the quantity of land-water is the same at both places, the increase in the capacity of the river must be owing to the tidal-water, which passing up on the flood and reacting with the land-water, has, by the momentum of its back-water on the ebb, which is composed of the tidal-waters which come up with the flood, plus the water ponded back, and the river-water continuing to flow out during the ebb, enlarged the sectional area of the river just as much as was necessary for its discharge and no more. Now, the quantity of land-water in a river may be considered a fixed quantity, and no works that may be erected in the bed for the purpose of improvement can add to it, but in the tidal compartment of a river, the quantity of tidal-water passing up on the flood may be almost indefinitely increased. As water is really the acting agent that produces all the improvement which can be made in a river, the chief object in the erection of works for the improvement of the Appomattox, should be to admit as large a quantity of tidal-water as the bed of the river can be made capable of receiving; for the larger the quantity the greater the scouring power of the back-water to lower the surface of low water and deepen the channel sufficiently for its own discharge.

If it were desired, there is no reason, in my opinion, if the proper means were used, why the depth at Petersburg should not be nearly the same as that at Point of Rocks. For though the present depth of the channel at the former place is more due to the land-water than to the tidal scour, yet the removal of the obstacles to the free flow of the tidal-water, besides lowering the bed of the river all the way down, would also have the effect of deepening the channel in the upper reach at Petersburg.

With the river in the improved condition contemplated in this paper, the passage up the river would be shortened by the straightening of its course, the capacity of the tidal compartment below the falls would be greatly enlarged, the flood-tide would be accelerated, and the quantity of water passing up would be greatly increased, so that high water would reach a higher level at Petersburg than at City Point, and the bed of the river being lowered by the increased momentum of the back-water, there would be a more rapid discharge on the ebb, and the level of low water at Petersburg would be reduced below what it is at present, thereby causing a nearer approximation between the period of flood and ebb than is now the case; while the shoals and sand-banks being removed, the low water

lowered, and the tidal receptacle well filled and emptied, a channel would be created and maintained sufficiently deep to afford largely increased facilities to the commerce of the city, and also, which is by no means unimportant, to pass off more rapidly the land-floods which would never attain their former height at the wharves.

The advantages that would accrue to the city of Petersburg, her population and trade from such an improvement in the navigable capacity of the Appomattox, can hardly be overrated. The direct and easy access to her wharves by the larger vessels engaged in her trade would be a great saving of time, and those occasional losses, and additional expenses consequent upon the present defective condition of the river, which must prove a heavy tax on her mercantile interests. The increased facilities of navigation would necessarily lead to an increase of her commerce, and that by affording more occupation and employment for a greater number of persons, and daily opening new channels of industry, would greatly increase her population, promote her commercial activity, wealth and prosperity, stimulate the improvement of real estate within her limits, enhance the value of all property in her neighborhood, and develop new sources of revenue greatly in excess of the expenditure required to call them into existence. All these advantages can be secured by the city of Petersburg, provided her people exercise timely energy in carrying out this improvement.

MOBILE, April, 1866.

ART. V.—WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION—ITS PRACTICAL WORKINGS.

RELATION BETWEEN THE PLANTERS AND FREEDMEN IN THE ISLAND OF ST. CROIX.

The following is the testimony of a resident of St. Croix, whose contributions we shall in future, as we do now, welcome to our pages. A bitter opponent of slavery, he is not blind to the evils which emancipation has caused. Strange that a remedy which invariably has worked so badly should still be thought so much better than the disease. The negroes do not increase, prefer idleness to labor, are immoral and irregular, inhabit the finest country in the world, and the only remedy is IMMIGRATION. Alas! alas! this remedy, too, must be ours. The writer's views correspond with our own. Shortly we shall review Mr. Sewell's work to which he refers.—EDITOR.

BELIEVING that the experience gained in other regions, where slavery has existed and emancipation has taken place, will be of interest and use in considering and effecting the reorganization of industry in the Southern States of the Union, I make bold to offer to your readers the result of some personal observations, made during a residence of more than ten years, as to the existing relations between the proprietors of landed estates and the rural population of free laborers in the island of St. Croix in the West Indies.

In order to fully understand these relations and what causes determine them, it will be necessary to give a summary description of

the circumstances under which the change from slavery to freedom took place and has since worked. I therefore preface my remarks with such a description, and with the just aphorism of so distinguished a writer as Mr. Emerson, that "what is truth anywhere is truth everywhere."

Among the West India Islands none is more beautiful than that of St. Croix, not unjustly called "the garden of the West Indies." It lies about forty miles to the south of St. Thomas. Both islands belong to Denmark—St. Thomas since 1671, St. Croix since 1733, when it was sold by Louis the Fifteenth to a Danish Company for 750,000 livres. It was already then partially settled. The first settlers were Dutch; the English then took possession of the island, but were expelled by the Spaniards, who, in 1650, were, in their turn, expelled by the French, who held it until they ceded it to the Danes, in whose possession it has since been, though not wholly undisturbed, for England seized it in 1801, and held it later, from 1807 to 1814.

This little island, whose most important relations are to form the subject of our investigation and remarks, is not more than about eighty square miles in size, and was inhabited in 1860 by a trifle more than 23,000 people. The entire extent of land, stated to be 51,000 acres, but of which only 18,000 are cultivated in sugar or otherwise, is appropriated, and offers no opportunity for squatting. Such land as is not under cultivation is used as pasturage.

The physical formation of the island presents three separate configurations. An easterly and westerly highland, separated from each other by a valley that leads to the level land which forms the whole of its centre and southern part. The highest points of the eastern highlands are not more than about 800 feet above the sea; the summits of the more extensive western highlands are between 11,000 and 12,000 feet high. The eastern highlands is the least fertile part of the island, and but little adapted to the cultivation of sugar, suffering, as it does, from frequent droughts; but it is admirably adapted to the cultivation of cotton, of which it produces the finest qualities. In times past, cotton was the staple produce of this district. The high prices of sugar in the early part of the century caused this plant to supplant cotton, and it is only since the great rise in the price of the last-named commodity that its cultivation has been attended to. It now promises to be, once more, the staple produce. Before the resumption of the cultivation of cotton, the whole of this part of the island seemed doomed to return again to its primitive state of wild forest. Nothing seemed to thrive there but the cassia and the cactus, the latter in all the hideous and grotesque forms it delights to assume, looking like deformed monuments erected on some ungodly burial place.

The district formed by the western highlands is the most beautiful and picturesque part of the island, but not either particularly adapted to the cultivation of sugar. Its scenery, however, is charming.

It is the comparatively level and tamer part of the island which

forms its centre and southern coast that has procured it the name of "the garden of the West Indies." Level, as applied to it, is, however, a misnomer, and only excused by the contrast to the mountainous regions; its surface is rather alternate hillock and dale, with, now and then, a more extended plain. It is highly cultivated, and on its produce depends, more or less, the prosperity of the island. Viewed from the northern hills, it offers a pleasing sight. Its garden-like cultivation, that would otherwise be monotonous to the eye, is relieved by the intersecting roads, lined on both sides by the graceful cocoon-palm, the wide-spreading tamarind, or the dark-leaved mami-tree, forming, as if were, numberless avenues. The pretty dwelling-houses on the estates, with the adjacent works, and the regularly laid-out negro villages, surrounded by trees, add a peculiar charm to the view, that is further enhanced by the dark, blue sea, that battles these ever-green shores and expands as far as the eye can see.

The climate is delicious, mild and equable, rarely subject to any great changes; the thermometer is seldom below 75° or above 90° ; the mean temperature being about 80° . The gentle trade-wind, varying from N. E. to S. E., blows constantly and refreshes the air. But few days are sultry, and then the air is so light that even these are far less oppressive than a sultry day in a more northern climate. The great defect of the climate is its dryness, the island being subject to frequent and long-continuing droughts.

As stated above, the population of the island amounted in 1860 to 23,000 souls. In 1815, ten years after the importation of slaves had ceased, it amounted to 29,000. A sad decrease has thus taken place, the more to be lamented as it is to be attributed to an excess of deaths over births. Emigration has had but little to do with the depopulation of the island, and that only within the last few years. Before emancipation it was wholly unknown.

The government of the island under Danish rule has always been mild and just, affording ample security to person and property. One of the first nations to prohibit the slave-trade (as early as 1803), the Danish Government was ever zealous to protect the slave against ill-usage, as the stringent laws given for this purpose amply testify. No where was the slave better treated. He was entitled by law to work for himself on Saturdays, so as to give him an opportunity of eventually purchasing his freedom; public schools, in which attendance was compulsory, were established for the education of the children; the constant endeavor of the Government was, by successive measures, to pave the way for final emancipation. The consequence was, that when the slaves rose in a body in 1848 and demanded their freedom, it was at once conceded by the Government, and emancipation was effected without any bloodshed, and accompanied but by few excesses. The emancipation in St. Croix had been preceded by that change in the form of government of the mother country that took place in 1848—a change from despotism to constitutionalism, based upon universal suffrage. This naturally caused a change in its colonial policy. The old protective

system has been gradually abandoned, and the trade of the island is no longer encumbered by differential duties of any kind, the laws affecting it are based on the broadest principles of free trade. The local Government is conducted by a Governor appointed by the King, and a Representative Assembly with consultative powers, the members of which are elected partly by the Crown, partly by the people. The law knows of no distinction of color; and side by side sit black, colored and white members, elected indiscriminately by black, colored and white electors. The franchise is dependant on certain property qualifications, or the enjoyment of a certain income.

Not content with proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves, the Danish Government deemed it expedient to organize and regulate, by special law, the relations of the agricultural laborers to their employers, and under date of the 26th of January, 1840, an Act was promulgated giving minute rules in this respect. This Act, which has now been in force for seventeen years, is, as a legislative experiment, so curious, that we venture to lay before our readers its principal clauses in all their original fulness of thought and expression. They run thus:

"Whereas, the Ordinance dated 29th July, 1848, by which yearly contracts for labor on landed estates were introduced has not been duly acted upon: whereas the interest of the proprietors of estates, as well as of the laborers, requires that their mutual obligations should be defined; and whereas, on inquiry into the practice of the island and into the private contracts and agreements hitherto made, it appears expedient to establish rules throughout the island for the guidance of all parties concerned, It is enacted and ordained:

"PARA. 1. All engagements of laborers now domiciled on landed estates and receiving wages, in money or in kind, for cultivating and working such estates, are to be continued as directed by the Ordinance of 29th July, 1848, until the 1st day of October of the present year; and all similar engagements shall in future be made, or shall be considered as having been made, for a term of twelve months, viz.: from the 1st of October till the 1st of October, year after year.

"Engagements made by heads of families are to include their children between five and fifteen years of age, and other relatives depending on them and staying with them.

"PARA. 2. No laborer engaged as aforesaid in the cultivation of the soil, shall be discharged or dismissed from, nor shall be permitted to dissolve, his or her engagement before the expiration of the same on the 1st of October of the present or of any following year, except in the instances hereafter enumerated:

"(a). By mutual agreement of master and laborer before a magistrate.

"(b). By order of a magistrate, on just and equitable cause being shewn by the parties interested.

"Legal marriage, and the natural tie between mothers and their children, shall be deemed by the magistrate just and legal cause of removal from one estate to another. The husband shall have the right to be removed to his wife, the wife to her husband, and children under fifteen years of age to their mother, provided no objection to employing such individuals shall be made by the owner of the estate to which the removal is to take place.

"PARA. 3. No engagement of a laborer shall be lawful in future unless made in the presence of witnesses and entered in the day-book of the estate.

"PARA. 4. Notice to quit service shall be given by the employer, as well as by the laborer, at no other period but once a year in the month of August, not before the first, nor after the last day of the said month. An entry thereof shall be made in the day-book, and an acknowledgment in writing shall be given to the laborer.

"The laborer shall have given, or receive, legal notice of removal from the estate where he serves, before any one can engage his services, otherwise the new contract to be void; and the party engaging or tampering with a laborer employed by others will be dealt with according to law.

"In case any owner or manager of an estate should dismiss a laborer during the year without sufficient cause, or should refuse to receive him at the time stipulated, or refuse to grant him a passport when due notice of removal has been given, the owner or the manager is to pay full damages to the laborer, and to be sentenced to a fine not exceeding twenty dollars.

"PARA. 6. The working days to be, as usual, only five days in the week, and the same days as heretofore. The ordinary work of estates is to commence at sunrise and to be finished at sunset every day, leaving one hour for breakfast and two hours at noon, from twelve to two o'clock. Planters who prefer to begin the work at seven o'clock in the morning, making no separate breakfast time, are at liberty to adopt this plan either during the year or when out of crop.

"The laborers shall be present in due time at the place where they are to work. The list to be called and answered regularly; whoever does not answer the list when called is too late.

"PARA. 9. The laborers are to receive, until otherwise ordered, the following remuneration:

"(a). The use of a house or dwelling-rooms for themselves and their children, to be built and repaired by the estate, but to be kept in proper order by the laborers.

"(b). The use of a piece of provision ground, thirty feet square, as usual, for every first and second-class laborer; or if it be standing ground, up to fifty feet square. Third-class laborers are not entitled to, but may be allowed some provision ground.

"(c). Weekly wages at the rate of fifteen cents to every first-class laborer, of ten cents to every second-class laborer, and of five cents to every third-class laborer for every working day.

"When the usual allowance of meal and herrings has been agreed on in part of wages, full weekly allowance shall be taken for five cents a day, or twenty-five cents a week.

"No bargaining for extra pay by the hour is permitted.

"PARA. 14. Laborers wilfully abstaining from work on a working-day are to forfeit their wages for the day, and will have to pay over and above the forfeit a fine which can be lawfully deducted in their wages of seven cents for a first-class laborer, four cents for a second-class laborer, and two cents for a third-class laborer.

"In crop or grinding days, when employed about the works in cutting canes, etc., an additional punishment will be awarded for wilful absence and neglect by the magistrate on complaint being made.

"Laborers abstaining from work for half a day, or breaking off from work before being dismissed, to forfeit their wages for one day.

"Laborers not coming to work in due time to forfeit half a day's wages.

"Parents keeping their children from work shall be fined instead of the children."

Besides these clauses, the Act contains a minute description of the kind of work to be performed by each class of laborers, and gives detailed enactments for the further regulation of the relation between the laborer and his employer.

At first sight, the provisions of the law seem humane and considerate, not only towards the laborer, but also towards the planter. To the first is secured shelter, a piece of land for his own use, and constant employment all the year round at a fair remuneration, whether his services be required or not; the planter, on the other

hand, is secured against an absolute want of labor, on what seems reasonable terms. Both are protected in their rights by the hand of the law. On a more careful investigation and closer observation of the working of the law, it has been found that it has not only attempted to do a great deal, but to do a vast deal more than can be done by legislative enactment. Its principal features are, the enactment of yearly contracts with compulsory residence on estates, its division of laborers into three classes, its appointment of five days in the week for labor, the fixing of the hours to be employed therein each day, the kind of labor to be performed, and lastly, the attempt to regulate the price of labor.

It may be questioned whether these enactments were not all and severally an unwarranted encroachment on the freedom of the laborer and the liberty of the planter. It would almost seem so. The restrictions imposed on agricultural laborers were the more galling as no similar restrictions were imposed upon the freedmen inhabiting the towns.

Those that defend the Act, do so on the ground that it was a requisite and wise provision to guard against that vagrancy and idleness which experience in other West India islands had, but too plainly, shown the emancipated negro would be sure to give himself up to if not restrained by some necessity to work. In default of any natural necessity, an artificial one had therefore to be created by legal enactment. It was further argued that the production of sugar, combining, as it does, a manufacturing process with an agricultural, and carried on in a climate where vegetation never rests, absolutely required that the employer of labor should be secured against any sudden stoppage in the supply. A strike for almost any amount of wages, no matter how unreasonable, during crop-time, would, it was said, leave the planter but the choice of compliance or ruin.

How far these results would really have occurred, had the Act not been put in force, is just the question. Could it be proved that they would have occurred *but for the Act*, then the Act is justifiable; for better restricted freedom than wide-spread ruin to innocent homesteads, whose desolation would not only be distressing in itself, but would lead to the return of the negro to a state of barbarism infected with the vices of civilization. We do not believe that the results, so much and so justly dreaded, would have occurred to the extent supposed; and we are perfectly sure that the provisions of the Act, so far from retarding them, if they were to have resulted from emancipation, under the existing circumstances would, on the contrary, only have contributed to hasten their consummation. The ground on which we base our conviction is, that the supply of labor, though so much below the demand as to command a very high price, is so high a one, in fact, as to leave but little, if any profit to the employer, was yet not so deficient as to warrant a panic. The laborers, though commanding high wages, were not in a position to refrain entirely from work. There was no land to squat on, and sufficient authority and power to enforce the observance of a vagrancy

act not encroaching upon the liberties of the industrious part of the population. But for the Act these facts would soon have become self-evident, and speedy resort would have been had to the only effective remedy against high wages—an increase of the labor-force by immigration. Instead of this, the law has deluded many into a belief that it has not only fixed wages at a low and reasonable rate, but, more or less, provided for all contingencies, barring the quantity of rain that might be desired.

The enforcement of yearly contracts is objectionable, not only on the ground of its being an undue encroachment on the liberty of the peasantry, but also because it counteracts the very object it purposes to effect. Its object is to secure the planter against a decrease in the labor-force employed in agriculture. Now, is it likely that this will be obtained by rendering such labor odious to those employed in it, and contemptible in the eyes of other laborers? It has come to this pass, under the working of the act, that agricultural labor is looked down upon. The most opprobrious epithet that a town-laborer, in moments of his highest indignation, can apply to a field-laborer is: "You d——d country nigger." The shaft rankles in the wound, and, on the next 1st of August, Sambo demands his ticket-of-leave and bids farewell, on the 1st of October, to rural life and the pastoral pleasures of a sugar-plantation, leaving behind him a comfortable house and ample wages, to be exchanged for a miserable, half-starving existence in town; but he is no longer a "country nigger;" no! a full-fledged freedman, soon to acquire the importance and airs of a gentleman of the town.

The rural population had, no wonder, decreased from the year 1850 to 1860 by nearly 1,000 individuals—no little loss in so small a population. It need hardly be said that it decreases every year still, and that at last immigration had to be resorted to, and that at a heavy expense to the colony. Every 1st of October there is not only a wide-spread removal of laborers from one estate to another, but many of the laborers move to town, some leaving the island altogether in despite of all the obstacles that the authorities lay in their way.

Now, we firmly believe, that if, from the first, it had been left entirely to the parties concerned to enter into labor-contracts on such conditions as in each individual case they could agree upon, without any governmental interference or peculiar legislative restrictions, the island would to-day be better supplied with agricultural labor, and, consequently, in a more prosperous condition. No stigma would have been attached to this kind of labor. That the former slave should shrink from it, being emancipated, was natural. This repugnance to follow his former occupation should have been foreseen, and, if possible, counteracted. Instead of that, it has been fostered by legislative enactments, given with a view to protect agriculture. To stigmatize a particular branch of labor, if even more remunerative than others, and then to expect that it will be generally sought for, is mistaking human nature. Executioners and informers

can generally be procured; but to expect to find the exceptional qualities required of these persons in a community, as a whole, is an insult to human nature, and an unpardonable blunder on the part of a lawgiver.

The Act has, in fact, established an unnatural and artificial distinction and barrier between the rural districts and the two small towns in the island. In the latter, labor, or rather idleness, is free; the beggar or loafer is at liberty to earn as much as he can. In the former, wages are fixed by law, so, at least, it appears to the laborer; task-work is prohibited; and the laborer is on every side hedged in by legislative enactments. Small as the towns are, they contain, nevertheless, considerably more than one-third of the entire population, numbering nearly 9,000 souls, living mostly in such want and poverty as is only made bearable by the climate. Here we have, on the one hand, two over-populated towns; on the other, a rural district that is importing laborers from Calcutta, and that in an island not bigger than that a good pedestrian might walk from one end of it to the other in a day. That there is something rotten in such a state of things, must be evident to all.

The clause in the Act relating to compulsory residence, has always been a dead letter, as far as the laborer is concerned. On the planter, it has entailed the expense of always having to keep a house ready and in good repair for the laborer; but the latter makes use of it at his option; he takes possession of it and retains it as a retreat, for generally he spends his nights in town, or on some other estate, attracted by a card-party or dance, or by some sable beauty whom he has, perhaps, made his wife; preferring, however, that she should reside at some distance from him, or, as is more frequently the case, only intends, at some future and indefinite time, to honor with this sacred tie.

The classification of laborers into three classes is not less absurd than a classification of all human beings into any three classes would be. We remember somewhere seeing humanity classified under the three heads of lieutenants, chimney-sweepers and servant-girls; and the classification is about as good as any other we ever saw. Neither the quality nor the quantity of work that each laborer will perform can be determined by law. It is, therefore, unjust to attempt to fix their wages by a legislative act.

That the regular working days should, by law, be restricted to five days of the week, seems strange. In the time of slavery, Saturday was humanely set aside for the use of the slave as his own, to enable him, eventually, to purchase his freedom. It was then a day of honorable work. Now, it is left optional to the laborer whether he will work on that day or not; but the mere fact of the law making it exceptional has caused it to become, to a great extent, a day of idleness. It is called market-day, and the country people flock to town, the women to sell their poultry, vegetables and fruit, the men to idle and dissipate. On the estates, but little or no work is done on that day. One would think that the loss of the labor of

the greater part of the rural population on every Saturday, all the year round, would be of some consideration in a community crying out for more labor.

The most remarkable feature in the Act, however, is its ambitious design and attempt not only to fix the price of labor for an indefinite time, but to introduce a new standard of value; the latter to consist of a compound of corn-meal, herrings and small coin. To account for this bold and daring attempt, not issuing from one of the centres of civilization, but from a small and obscure island, we must either presuppose the paramount influence on the conception and passing of the law of some utopian genius who, by accident, had found his way to this remote spot, or the most total and perfect ignorance, on the part of its originators, of the results that the science of political economy has arrived at.

The manner in which the law regulates wages has been already stated, and we will only notice that, it being left optional to the laborer whether he will receive his wages in money alone, or partly in money and partly in provisions, at a rate fixed by the law when the articles in question were about twenty-five per cent. lower in price than they now are, he invariably prefers the latter mode of payment, particularly as he is supplied on the estate, and saved the trouble of going to town to provide himself with these articles at present retail prices. The negro is no fool at a bargain.

If we even take into consideration that the wants and requirements of the laborer are far less than they are in a northern climate, that he has no winter to contend against, requires less clothing, and of a cheaper kind, less food, and that easily procured; that he need never be out of work, or entertain any fear of either himself or children being so—yet the wages, as fixed by the Labor Act of St. Croix, cannot be said to be high, or to favor the laborer to the detriment of the planter. In fact, we suppose that the intention was to fix them with a due regard to the interest of the planter. The only drawback to the whole arrangement is, that the Act has no more fixed the amount of wages, really paid to the laborer, than it has fixed the time for the moon to rise or the sun to set. What it has done by the attempt has been to create a great delusion that has proved most baneful to the very parties it wished to benefit.

Wages in St. Croix are governed by the same natural laws as they are governed everywhere else. Their amount is determined by the relation between the demand and supply of labor. Now, the supply of labor in the island being less than the demand, wages must be high. The population of the island is, as stated, about 23,000. Barbadoes, not more fertile, and not more than twice its size, supports a population of about 136,000. St. Croix could, therefore, and is ready to support a population of at least 50,000, or more than double the number that now inhabit it; consequently, wages there must be *very* high.

We have seen that the Act fixes wages at a low rate. How, then, is the difference between these wages and those really paid by the planter made good?

Paragraph 22 of the Act reads thus :

"No laborer is allowed, without the special permission of the owner or manager, to appropriate wood, grass, vegetables, fruits and the like, belonging to the estate, or to appropriate such produce from other estates, nor to cut canes, or to burn charcoal. Persons making themselves guilty of such offenses shall be punished according to law, with fines or imprisonment with hard labor; and the possession of such articles not satisfactorily accounted for, shall be sufficient evidence of unlawful acquisition."

It will be seen, from this provision, that there are many and valuable privileges to be enjoyed on an estate, if they can only be obtained. Well, not only have all these privileges been gradually ceded to the laborer, but others of even greater magnitude. The laborer does, and that with the consent of the employer, appropriate grass, wood, vegetables, fruit and the like, and does burn coal. For all of these articles he finds a ready and profitable market. Further, on every estate a number of laborers keep horses, generally breeding mares; all keep hogs and poultry. It is no uncommon thing to find on an estate from ten to fifteen horses belonging to the laborers. All this stock is invariably fed out of the produce of the estates, and that at times when the stock of the estate is suffering for want of fodder. Another source of revenue to the laborers are the annual bribes, varying from five to ten dollars, offered to him as an inducement to leave one estate and move to another.

Where the deficiency in the legal wages is not made up by the returns obtained from these sources of profit, it is made up by the less amount of work given in return for them. Which is most injurious to the planter, it is difficult to say. In the latter case he loses what is most valuable to him—labor; in the former, he never knows what amount of wages he is really paying; a most serious evil. Such a state of things must exercise a most demoralizing effect upon employer and employed. The relation that ought to exist between them is subverted. The employer grudges the use of the privileges he has to allow, and they are a constant source of bickering and wrangling. The laborer defiantly demands them as a right, and is ready with threats to give notice to leave if they be not granted at once. The undefined use of these privileges leads naturally to their abuse. The laborer fancies that he has a right to appropriate everything growing on the estate, except the sugar-cane, and on emergencies not even the cane-field is respected, but must, when grass is deficient, yield fodder for his horse and hogs. Thus the law does not contribute to cultivate a correct notion as to the right of property—a piece of education that it was important to impart as soon as possible to the emancipated slave. The practice of bribing laborers to leave one estate for another, extensively practised, does not contribute to raise the planter in the esteem of the laborer. With the loss of respect comes a loss of authority. The open manner in which the act is constantly and flagrantly broken cannot but lessen the respect of the laborers for the authority of the laws in general.

The most serious injury, however, that this attempt to regulate wages by legislative enactment has inflicted on the planters, is, that it has as it were, obscured their views and clouded their understanding. It has prevented them from distinctly seeing and thoroughly realizing that the only remedy for the evil that so seriously threatens their prosperity, is an increase of labor. They have had a vague feeling that this was the case, but they do not, even yet, thoroughly realize it. This increase can only be thoroughly effected by immigration on an extensive scale. Only within the last few years has any serious exertion been made in this respect. It will hardly be believed, but it is no less true, that the most strenuous supporters of this preposterous act are the planters themselves. Its protective spirit seems to exercise a fascinating charm over their minds, they cling to its minute provisions as to a remnant of the old system, and do not see how much injury it inflicts upon them. To the laborers the Act is obnoxious and detestable, they only look upon it as an encroachment on their rights as freemen.

We have shown how far the supply of labor is below the demand, and that, as a consequence, wages must be high. The disproportion between the two contending forces is so great, that it threatens to annihilate the one. Capital will not employ labor for any length of time without its proper remuneration; it will seek for investment where such remuneration is to be obtained. Profits are so low in St. Croix, that the gradual withdrawal of capital for investment is to be apprehended, unless counteracted in some way or other. The only efficient remedy is immigration on a large scale. The island can support at least twice the number of its present population.

It may seem strange that no regard is taken of the natural increase that one would expect would be going on in the population. Unfortunately no such increase seems to take place; or if it does, it is so trifling as to be of little consideration when the question at issue is an increase of the labor force. This fact is one of the most melancholy features in the state of the native population apparent, not only in the island, but we believe throughout the West Indies.

Even before emancipation the laborers had every opportunity of acquiring religious instruction. They were under the care of Episcopal, Lutheran, Moravian, and Roman Catholic clergymen, between whose doctrines they were at perfect liberty to choose. The government not only provided them with free schools and teachers, but compels them, under a fine, to send their children to these schools from their sixth to their fourteenth year; there they are instructed daily in reading, writing and reckoning. On Sundays they attend the schools of their different churches. How much attention has been bestowed by the authorities on the education of the laborer is attested by the number of handsome school-houses erected at convenient distances all through the island. The supervision and management of the schools, the appointment of teachers, is placed entirely in the hands, not of the Lutheran clergy as might be expected, but in the hands of the Moravian brotherhood, whose

zeal and exertions on behalf of the slave before emancipation, and of the laborers since, is beyond all praise. With untiring energy have they labored in this good cause. But the attention of the authorities was not bestowed on the moral improvement of the freedmen alone; great attention was bestowed on their physical well-being. The government has in this, as in the first respect, done everything that can be desired. There is a permanent Board of Health, the medical department of which is under a public physician, especially appointed to superintend the sanitary condition of the island, and to whom all other physicians are required to send in reports. Every estate is compelled by law to employ a physician. The island is provided with salaried midwives educated to their calling, to a great extent, at the public expense, and located in convenient districts; they are under the immediate supervision of the public physician. There is hospital room on every estate, the public hospitals, that are spacious and in admirable order, are for certain dangerous and infectious diseases, open to patients, free of all charges. Vaccination is made compulsory. What more can be done? The island has never been visited by any epidemic, not even the cholera; its climate is one of the finest in the world, and yet there is the melancholy fact staring you in the face, of the population not increasing, although its ranks are not thinned by any emigration that could explain the phenomenon. How explain this anomaly? Where is the cause of this evil? If the truth is to be made public, and I do not see why it should not, the cause of the evil is to be found in the ignorance, and in the depraved and profligate habits of the laborers, in the cruel and unnatural treatment of young children by their mothers, who neglect them in the most shameful manner, causing a very great mortality among them. Another cause may be found in the fact, that intermarriages between the white or the black, or the colored race, are either quite barren or very little prolific. The number of illegitimate children born in the island in 1860 amounted to 65 per cent. of all births. A peculiar feature in the population, and which may be worthy of notice in connection with the stationary, if not actual decreasing state of the population, is the numerical relation of males to females. In the United States the proportion among the free population was, in 1850, 100 males to 95 females; among the slave population it was 100 males to 99.95 females. In the Northern states of Europe the proportion is about 1,000 males to 1,018 females, showing a slight preponderance there of females. In St. Croix, the proportion was 1,000 males to 1,300 females. This preponderance of females seems to be all but general in the West Indies. In 1861, the relation was in Antigua, 1,000 males to 1,175 females; in Barbadoes, 1,000 males to 1,157 females; in Dominica, 1,000 to 1,120; in St. Vincent, 1,000 to 1,116; in Jamaica, 1,000 to 1,067; in St. Lucia, 1,000 to 1,036. In Cuba the relation is, under slavery, reversed there: in 1860 it was as 1,000 to 794.

Emancipation had to take place as a logical necessity. Slavery,

as its bitter fruits must now prove even to the former slave-owner, was a woful wrong, a dreadful curse to the community that was guilty of maintaining it.* That question ought, by this, to be settled. But there remains another question, and that is, what improvement, what advance in culture has the freed negro made since emancipation? There is no use shirking the question, or equivocating an answer; it has nothing to do with the question of slavery, and must be answered in the interest of civilization. As far as the West Indies is concerned, the answer is not very satisfactory. The freed negro has not made such rapid strides towards cultivation as his friends predicted he would; but he has advanced, though slowly, in the right direction, and will do so at a progressive rate; provided that he live in communities swayed and governed by the intelligence and energy of the white man, not, however, to his exclusion, but admitting him to a share equal to his intelligence and energy.

We believe that the slow improvement among the negro population in the West Indies, since emancipation, is to be mainly attributed to the want of a sufficiently strong stimulant to labor. He has never felt the invigorating effects of necessity, that kind mother of invention; but was enabled, all of a sudden, to exchange compulsory labor for voluntary idleness. For a very little work he gets a very high pay; his wants are few and easily satisfied. Why should he work more than is sufficient to satisfy these? Who does? Why should he not enjoy an idle hour or more if he so chooses? Was it not M. Lepidus, a Roman, who, stretching himself on the lawn, exclaimed: "*Vellem hoc esset laborare!*" If an ancient Roman could entertain such a wish, why not a negro laborer? He does stretch himself, only differing from the Roman in this, that he exclaims: "*Hoc est laborare,*" turns round and goes quickly to sleep, with the mid-day sun shining on his greasy, but happy and contented countenance. The negro, although of a philosophical and contemplative turn of mind, is both willing and able to work. But he will not be made exceptional to other mortals. He must, like they, see a necessity for working, if he is to work. Immigration, on a large scale, is the only means of bringing this necessity home to him. Let this be done, and he will not only work, and improve mentally, physically and morally, but he will increase and multiply to the infinite satisfaction of himself, the philanthropist, and the planter. Eventually he may become hard-working, saving, avaricious, miserly, grasping, ambitious, highly intellectual, ingenious, etc., etc., but he is not so now, and we recommend again our remedy—a taste of necessity.

Having tried to describe the result of emancipation, and the system pursued since, in so far as affecting the laborer, let us see how it has affected the much neglected and overlooked planter, always, however, keeping in view, that it is not of the results of emancipation *per se*; these must be always beneficial; but it is of the immediate results of

* We think the very reverse of this is proved.—Ed.

emancipation, under peculiar circumstances, that we are thinking. It was expected that one of the results of emancipation would be a greater security to the owners of property. We do not believe this result has taken place. So far from any friendly feeling having grown up between the negro race and the white, in consequence of emancipation, we believe the reverse to be the result; that it should be so, we consider, in conformity with a general law; for, as de Tocqueville justly remarks: "The division of property has lessened the distance which separated the rich from the poor; but it would seem that the nearer they drew to each other, the greater is their mutual hatred, and the more vehement the envy and the dread with which they resist each other's claims to power; the idea of right does not exist for either party, and force affords to both the only argument for the present, and the only guarantee for the future." The only collision resulting in the loss of life on record, in the history of St. Croix, occurred a few years after emancipation, when a very serious riot took place in an attempt to oppose the authorities in putting a stop to the barbarous dances, and rites indulged in by the negroes at Christmas time. The result of the riot was, that some eight or ten negroes were shot down.

The depreciation in the value of property, without regard to the former slaves, is more than fifty per cent. It need hardly be said that of the owners of estates, before emancipation, there is hardly a vestige left. The history of those families, would, if told, be but a sad tale. Innocent, delicate women, struggling bravely, strenuously, heroically against bitter poverty, left, perhaps, at the time with a family of young children, destined to grow up in ignorance amidst vice and depravity. These are facts that mostly escape the knowledge of transient visitors, and are entirely beneath the notice of newspaper correspondents; they smack of melancholy, let us leave them, and raise ourselves to the dignity of statistics.

The depreciation in the value of property will be understood from the following indisputable data: During the 12 years, preceding emancipation, 1836-1847, the average annual production of the island was 20,682,098 pounds of sugar. For the 12 years, 1849-1860, after emancipation, the average annual produce was 14,259,718 pounds of sugar, showing a falling off in the crop equal to 6,422,380 pounds, or a decrease amounting to 31 per cent., and that accompanied by a fall in the price of sugar. The average decline in the crops, has, since 1860, been somewhat checked by immigration; but the situation demands immigration on a still larger scale.

In his able and impartially written work on the "Ordeal of Free Labor in the West Indies," Mr. Sewell has clearly pointed out the importance of immigration to these islands. We do not agree with Mr. Sewell in all his conclusions, and would particularly point out one grave error, which, we think, he has fallen into, namely, that of inferring from the increased money value of importations to the several islands since emancipation, the existence of greater prosperity. The money value of imports has increased, also in St.

Croix, but here for one, we know, that it does not signify greater prosperity. The fund out of which the increased supply of tawdry dress and luxuries is paid for is not the result of increased labor or savings; it is taken from profits from what ought to be the legitimate share of the capitalists who give employment to the laborers. It is this that makes an increase in the labor-force, and lower wages, so imperatively necessary. Capital is now only invested in the hope of saving former investments. But this kind of investment has its limits, and when these are reached, importation will not only decrease but all but cease.*

ART. VI.—THE LAST DAYS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

It was evident enough for many months before the downfall of the Confederacy, that all of its hopes were concentrated in the armies of General Lee, which had made the defense of Richmond more illustrious than any similar defense in ancient or modern history. When that army struck its colors, everywhere from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the conviction came that the cause was lost, and it was not in the power of mortal man to have roused the people to

*A correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, writing a few weeks ago from Jamaica, adds the following melancholy evidence for that island of the value of the electro-franchise when exercised by the freedmen:

"The freedmen as a class have not yet acquired the means of managing their little freeholds to the best advantage. They only succeed well where they have intelligent example and employment, earning wages a part of the year; and they look for their work on the nearest large estate. But the owners of these large estates have, unhappily, for the well-being of Jamaica, left the island, discouraged by the extreme difficulty of securing steady, reliable labor in crop time. Since emancipation and the distribution of lands among the freedmen, none of them will work more than four days of the week for the planters, except on such terms as consume the profits. The chief mischief, however, is, that the owner of an acre or two, on which his wife and children could raise their food, with but an occasional day's work for himself, was too apt to depend on that alone, and so become idle and demoralized; and of this class were the ringleaders of the Morant riot. The better class of blacks are beginning to feel and complain of the evils of this horde of drones. The depredations of the men who will not work on the land of the men who do have at last aroused even the careless blacks to ask for laws against vagrancy. Hitherto the Island Legislature has dealt too gingerly with facts that their voting black constituents chose to ignore.

"Three-fourths of the rural population of Jamaica—and I believe I may add nine-tenths of the most respectable blacks—would prefer the certainty of regular work at fair wages to the right of voting. You may meet this stubborn fact with what theories of ought and should you please, but it is a fact, nevertheless, that the elective franchise represents to the ignorant blacks—not that ignorance is of any particular color—two shillings and as much rum as they choose to drink on election day, at the expense of the candidates. The most worthy and intelligent blacks I have met seldom or ever use the right to vote, not thinking it worth the cost of the register tax. If a candidate has so much need of their votes as to pay the expense of bringing them to the polls, the longest purse would be sure of a majority."

another effort. It was a hopeless contest, in which scattered, half-fed, half-naked men were brought face to face with increasing hosts, well appointed and provisioned, and recruited from all the nations of earth. Gallantry could avail nothing. Burning cities and devastated country left no hope that wives and children could longer be sustained whilst husbands and fathers abided by the sword. It was a terrible hour of trial, and yet even in that hour we saw enough and knew enough of the Southern heart everywhere to be sure that it would have been fired anew, had long-looked-for intervention come. But hope had fled, and war was at an end.

Such being the state of the case, everything relating to the final struggle of that grand old Army of the Potomac, will be embalmed in the memory of Americans whether of the North or the South, and perhaps less is at present known of that final struggle than of any other event of the war.

We have two accounts before us—one from the pen of an English writer, which will be given at length, and the other by Capt. J. C. G., published in pamphlet form by W. B. Smith & Co., of Raleigh, N. C.

From the Raleigh pamphlet we make the following extracts :

It was at this moment that the Federals made their most determined effort on Gordon's lines, and by heroic bravery and daring, and amid great slaughter, succeeded in taking a portion of the breastworks near the Appomattox. But they could not use the advantage they had struggled so hard to obtain. The works were so constructed that the men could retreat only a few yards to another line, while their old line was exposed to the raking fire from the artillery on the right and left. At this part of the line, the artillery fire in a manner ceased, and, from the construction of the works, an almost individual battle was kept up until dark, with no more advantage gained on the Federal side than the taking of the first line, which they were unable to hold in a body.

While this fierce battle was raging on the left of the "Crater," other parts of the line to the right were hotly engaged, but the Confederates succeeded in repulsing every effort. About 2 P. M., heavy masses of troops were concentrated by the Federals directly opposite the position which McGowan's brigade had left the day previous. It took place while a seeming lull had occurred in the battle. I saw them when they first came in sight, marching in line of battle, three columns deep, apparently by divisions, their guns glistening and sparkling in the sun, and their blue uniforms seemingly black in the distance. They drove the Confederate skirmishers before them with impunity, and when they reached point blank range received the fire of the batteries in the breastworks without staggering. Had infantry been there, perhaps another tale might have been told, but without their assistance the Confederate batteries were carried in a moment, and the long line of breastworks was theirs, and of the few men that occupied them, some fled to the rear and others to the right and left. A loud buzz, that drowned the sound of battle on other parts of the line, greeted our ears and gave assurance to our right that a success had been gained by the Federals, and disaster had befallen the Confederates.

Just in rear, some two or three hundred yards, on many parts of our line, heavy forts had been erected to guard against just such results as had ensued. In rear of the line of works captured by the Federals were batteries Mahone and Gregg, but neither had guns mounted nor men assigned them. Mahone was unfinished, and was simply an embrasured battery of three guns. Gregg was a large fort, with a deep ditch in front, and its sally-ports protected in rear, and was embrasured for six guns. These two forts were all that now prevented the

enemy from completely cutting the Confederate lines in two to the Appomattox, and dividing A. P. Hill and Longstreet's forces, on the right, from the main body of the army.

As soon as the line of works were captured, the men from all the brigades which had been forced to retire were hurried into these works. Three guns, saved from capture on the entrenchments, were put in battery Mahone, with a few men, and three also in Fort Gregg, with about 300 infantry, mostly Mississippiana. After reforming and getting in order, the Federals moved on these works—on Mahone first, and they took it with a rush, although the gunners stood to their guns to the last and fired their last shot while the Federal troops were on the ramparts.

I was standing where I could view the whole encounter. The Confederate line to the left of the run was not attacked. The creek divided us, and the struggle was going on on one hill while we were on the opposite, about half a mile apart, anxious and breathless witnesses.

As soon as Mahone fell, the Federals, in three lines, moved on Fort Gregg, with cheers. In the immediate vicinity all else was silent. How confidently, and in what beautiful lines they advance! As they near the fort their line curves into a circle. They are within fifty yards, and not the flash of a single rifle yet defies them. My God! have the boys surrendered without a struggle? We look to see if the sign of a white flag can be seen. At this instant it seems to gleam in the sunlight, and sends a pang to our hearts. But no; it is the white smoke of their guns, while cannoneers and infantry simultaneously fire on the confident assaulters, who stagger, reel under their death-dealing volley, and in a moment the Federal lines are broken and they retreat in masses under cover. A loud and wild cheer succeeds the breathless stillness that prevailed amongst us, and is answered exultingly by the heroic little garrison in Fort Gregg. But reinforcements have come to the help of the assaulters. I can see their long serpentine lines as they wind their way through the cleared fields in the distance and over the captured works. I turned and looked to our rear, but no reinforcements were seen coming to the succor of the garrison. Every man is needed at his post, and no reserves are at hand. The repulsed assailants, animated by the sight of reinforcements, reform, and, as their comrades come up in battle array, march forth again in unbroken ranks. As they gain the hill-top, two hundred yards from the fort, the artillery within the fort belches forth from the embrasures, and the effect of its canister can be plainly seen in the heaps of dead and dying that strew the ground. But the check is only momentary. As the next line advances they move forward in serried ranks, and soon the fort is canopied in smoke. We can see the artillery as it fires in rapid succession, and the small arms pop and crack in a ceaseless rattle. The conflict elsewhere ceases, and both sides are silent and anxious witnesses of the struggle at the fort. Thus the fight continues for half an hour. The Federals have reached the ditch. They climb up the sides of the works, and, as the foremost reach the top, we can see them reel and fall headlong on their comrades below. Once, twice and thrice have they reached the top, only to be repulsed, and yet they persevere, and the artillery in the embrasures continue to fire in rapid succession. But, at last, all is hushed! The artillery once more, and for the last time, fires a parting shot, and we can see the Federals as with impunity they mount the works and begin a rapid fire on the defenders within. Their ammunition is exhausted, and, unwilling to surrender, they are using their bayonets and clubbing their guns in an unequal struggle. At last one loud huzza proclaims the fort lost, and with it the Confederate army cut into two parts. Generals Heth and Wilcox were in the fort, cheered the men to the last, and, at the minute of its surrender, mounted their steeds, dashed through the rally-port and retreated to the rear. I have since learned that 280 of the garrison, of a little over 300, were killed and wounded.

While the pursuit of Lee's army by Grant's overwhelming forces was still in progress, the following correspondence ensued between the two commanders:

General R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army: APRIL 7th, 1865.

GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate southern army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States.

APRIL 7th, 1865.

GENERAL: I have received your note of this day. Though not entirely of the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid the useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on conditions of its surrender.

R. E. LEE, General.
Lt. Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States.

To General R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army: APRIL 8th, 1865.

GENERAL: Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia is just received.

In reply, I would say, that peace being my first desire, there is but one condition that I insist upon, viz:

That the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the United States until properly exchanged.

I will meet you, or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States.

APRIL 8th, 1865.

GENERAL: I received, at a late hour, your note of to-day in answer to mine of yesterday.

I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender.

But as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know if your proposals tend to that end.

I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia; but so far as your proposition may affect the Confederate States forces under my command and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A. M., to-morrow, on the old stage road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE, General Commanding Confederate States Army.

To Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding United States Armies.

Gen. R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army: APRIL 9th, 1865.

GENERAL: Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed for at 10 A. M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself; and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.

Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General United States Army.

APRIL 9th, 1865.

GENERAL: I received your note of this morning, on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday, with reference to the surrender of this army.

I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE, General.

To Lieutenant-General Grant Commanding United States Armies.

General R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army: APRIL 9th, 1865.

Your note of this date is but this moment, 11.50 A. M., received.

In consequence of having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road, I am at this writing, about four miles west of Walter's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you.

Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place, will meet me. Very respectfully, U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General.

Gen. R. E. Lee Com. C. S. Army: APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, April 9, 1865.

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit:

Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officers as you may designate.

The officers to give their individual parole not to take arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged, each company or regimental commander to sign a parole for the men of their commands.

The arms, artillery and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them.

This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by the United States authority, so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very respectfully,
U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA, April 9, 1865.

Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, Commanding United States Army:

GENERAL: I have received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect. Very respectfully your obedient servant, R. E. LEE, General.

While the interview with reference to the surrender was taking place between the commanders, a strange scene was transpiring between the lines of the two armies, and occupied the period of the armistice. An informal conference and mingling of the officers of both armies gave to the streets of the village of Appomattox Court House a strange appearance. On the Federal side were Gens. Ord, Sheridan, Crook, Gibbon, Griffin, Merritt, Ayers, Bartlett, Chamberlain, Forsyth, and Mitchell. On the Confederate side were Generals Longstreet, Gordon, Heth, Wilcox and others. The conference lasted some hour and a half. None but general officers were allowed to pass through the skirmish line; there were mutual introductions and shaking of hands, and soon was passed some whiskey, and mutual healths drank. Gradually the area of the conference widened. The parties filled the streets, and before this singular conference closed, some were seated on the steps, and others, for better accommodations, chatted cosily, seated on a contiguous fence.

Between the skirmish lines of the two armies there was a great suspense, for it was felt that great interests were at stake between them. Skirmish line confronted skirmish line, lines of battle confronted lines of battle, cannon confronted cannon. Eager hopes hung on the interview between the opposing great commanders of the two armies. Peace might follow this interview. It might end in resumption of hostilities, in fiercest battle, in terrible carnage. The two armies were plainly visible to one another. The Confederates skirted a strip of woods in rear of the town. Through the vistas of the streets might be seen their wagon trains. The minutes passed but slowly. The approach of every horseman attracted an eager look. Two o'clock had been appointed by Grant for the resumption of hostilities. It arrived, and the Federal skirmish line commenced to advance. The Confederate pickets were in plain sight, and stationary. A moment more and the crack of the rifle would indicate the resumption of carnage. But a clatter of hoofs is heard, and a flag of truce ap-

pears upon the scene, with an order from General Grant that hostilities should cease until further orders.

After the interview at McLean's house General Lee returned to his own camp, about half a mile distant, where his leading officers were assembled awaiting his return. He announced the result and the terms. They then approached him in order of rank, shook hands, expressed satisfaction at his course and their regret at parting, all shedding tears on the occasion. The fact of surrender and the terms were then announced to the troops, and when General Lee appeared among them he was loudly cheered.

At about four o'clock it was announced in Grant's army that the surrender had been consummated and signed. And now the enthusiasm which had been restrained by uncertainty broke loose. The various brigade commanders announced the joyful news to their commands, and cheers of the wildest description followed. The men leaped, ran, jumped, threw themselves into each other's arms and seemed mad with joy.

The day after the surrender General Lee bid farewell to his army in the following simple address, so characteristic of his plain and manly style of writing:

GENERAL ORDER, No. 2.

HEADQ'RS ARMY N. V., April 10th, 1865.

After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

By the terms of agreement, officers and men will be allowed to return to their homes and remain there until exchanged.

You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.

With an unceasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

R. E. LEE, General.

The following is the account, *in extenso*, as given by the English writer:

"It is said by Coleridge that no man thrown to the surface of human affairs ever succeeded in simultaneously gaining distinction and affection, unless he possessed something of an epicurean nature—that is to say, a mixture of masculine and feminine qualities. Without claiming for General Lee, in the highest sense, the title of 'great,' it is impossible to deny that his memory will be cherished by those who, in the crisis of his three years of trial, stood and suffered by his side, as an exceptionally dear and precious possession. Few soldiers, if asked whether they would rather have served under Lee, on the one hand, or under Cromwell, Frederick the Great, Marlborough, or Napoleon on the other, would hesitate to prefer the four famous generals to the discomfited Confederate. Yet, it is doubtful whether any of the four, after they had passed away, and had ceased to communicate the electric shock of their presence and contact—of eye, voice, character, and influence—to others, possessed such hold on the affections and esteem as were inspired by Robert E. Lee.

"The truth seems to be that the greatest men *de par le monde* are

necessarily and intensely selfish. All great men are monsters, says a German proverb; and it may, I think, be conceded that when a man is playing a conspicuous *role* in life, and is generally loved, he is not, in the world's highest sense, great. He is probably something better. He has the thoughtfulness about others, the unobtrusiveness and renunciation of self, the truthfulness, purity, modesty, charity, guilelessness, which cannot long be unnoticed by those around him, and which lay firm hold upon their hearts. But to be great, to fill a very large space in the world's eye during a man's few brief years upon earth, he must throw modesty and unobtrusiveness overboard; he must be grasping, aggressive, discreetly greedy of praise, covetous of a large share of honor, judiciously envious; he must know how to undermine troublesome rivals without being found out, and to help useful friends without being supplanted. Heartily agreeing with Coleridge, that where distinction and affection have been won coincidently, there must be the epicene element in their winner. I venture to doubt whether man's affection is ever won by the greatest, or, in other words, whether in the greatest any of the woman is to be found. It is the nature of man to love woman; and thus if A, being a man, love B, who is also a man, it has always seemed to me that in proportion to the womanly qualities of B (wisely interspersed, of course, with the best manly qualities), will be the love that A bears him. The upright, earnest, energetic man, in whom there is little or no womanliness—such men as the incomparably drawn character of Tom in *The Mill on the Floss*—won confidence, admiration, esteem; but from their brother man they win little love. Be this as it may, there was a large streak of the Woman both in Washington and Lee, admits of no doubt. The men who are brave from tenderness, are braver than the men who are brave from pride. But the men who, to encourage or spare others, are gratuitously brave, are not selfish enough to be great. The calm judgment of posterity, especially if assisted by the pen of Mr. Carlyle (who is said to hold that Washington stands too high, and who, if I am rightly informed, contemplates lowering his pedestal), will, I think, reverse the verdict of Mr. Everett's well-known lecture, and will pronounce that Washington was not greater than Peter, or Frederick, or Marlborough, as Mr. Everett contends, but was simply more estimable.

"The exceeding loveliness of Lee became more patent as your consciousness that, as a politician, he lacked vigor and self-assertion, became more irresistible. This loveliness was based on a never-tiring unselfishness, a contagious endurance of hardship and danger, a shrinking modesty, an abounding tenderness. The child and the young girl, who had never seen him before, ran to him instinctively, as to a friend. His look spoke of honesty, directness, kindness, courage; his smile was irresistibly winning. But the stuff which made Cromwell, Napoleon, William the Silent, greater as politicians than as soldiers, was lacking in Lee. All that there was of true and brave in the people whom he so nearly made into a nation

called on him by signs that he who ran might have read, to put Congress aside, to control the press, to be Dictator, indeed; and yet he would not! Nevertheless, in the belief that there is more powerful stimulant to a noble ambition than the study of such a character as Lee's, I desire to throw my stone upon the cairn by gathering together a few notes, for the general accuracy of which I can entirely vouch, exhibiting the main features of those eventful six days which intervened between the evacuation of the Confederate lines around Petersburg and Richmond, on the night of April second, and the surrender of Lee's army on the morning of April ninth.

"In order to rightly understand these six days, it should be premised that the Federal cavalry, massed under General Sheridan, numbering about fifteen thousand sabres, splendidly equipped, and converted by their able commander into a body of military horsemen upon whom an Austrian or French *sabreur* might have looked without disdain, moved southward down the Valley of Virginia between the first and tenth of last March, and encountered a scratch Confederate army of about three thousand men, under General Early, at Waynesboro'. Gen. Early, distrustful of his men and his men equally distrustful of him, planted them with their backs to a deep river, in order to make retreat impossible. The result is easily foreseen. General Sheridan bagged two-thirds of his enemy's force, and most of his enemy's artillery. In the previous summer I remember that, as General Early kept losing gun after gun, great efforts were made to re-supply his losses by sending up fresh guns from Richmond. Upon one of these guns some wag of a Confederate soldier had chalked, 'General Sheridan, in care of General Early.' The transfer was probably effected at Waynesboro'. Sweeping rapidly onward toward the James River, between Richmond and Lynchburg, Sheridan found himself confronted by a swollen and impassable stream. He fell back, rounded the left wing of Lee's army, crossed the Pamunkey River at the White House (where he recruited his strength by picking up twelve hundred fresh horses which awaited him there), and upon the twenty-fifth of March joined General Grant in the lines before Petersburg. To Sheridan's untiring and sagacious activity in the subsequent operations, more than to the agency of any other man, is due the completeness of the Federal triumph—the seemingly inexplicable collapse of the Confederacy.

"It was not long before Grant's accession of strength was felt by Lee.

"Upon the evening of Saturday, April first, General Longstreet, who had long defended Richmond by commanding the Confederate forces to the north of the James River, received information from Lee that Grant had detached Sheridan's cavalry, and two corps of infantry (about twenty-five thousand men in all) to act against the Southside Railroad. Before communicating with Longstreet, Lee had dispatched Pickett's and Bushrod Johnson's divisions, Huger's battalion of artillery, and Fitzhugh Lee's division of cavalry, (in all

about seventeen thousand men), to meet the attack with which the Southside Railroad was menaced. But in sending away these seventeen thousand men, Lee had so weakened his lines before Petersburg that there was but one Confederate left to every fifty yards.

"Under these circumstances, Lee called upon Longstreet for men. But at dawn upon the second of April, before Longstreet had had time to obey Lee's orders, Grant descried from his wooden tower of observation the weakness of the Confederate lines. Immediately he threw a very heavy column, consisting, I believe, chiefly of Gibbon's corps, upon the weakest spot. The Federals carried, with very slight loss, the outer line, thinly held by Heth's division of Confederates, and bulged forward until they struck two of the detached forts, whereof a string or system ran behind the whole length of the Confederate outer works. These two detached forts, which were of course designed to cover each other, were named Forts Gregg and Alexander.

"The officer in command of Fort Alexander, which was farthest away from the on-coming Federals, deemed it more important to save his guns than to try and help Fort Gregg. Receiving no assistance from its twin brother, Fort Gregg, manned by Harris's Mississippi brigade, numbering two hundred and fifty undaunted men, breasted intrepidly the tide of its multitudinous assailants. Three times Gibbon's corps surged up and around the works—three times, with dreadful carnage, they were driven back. I am told that it was subsequently admitted by General Gibbon, that in carrying Fort Gregg he lost from five to six hundred men; or, in other words, that each Mississippian inside the works struck down at least two assailants. When at last the work was carried, there remained, out of its two hundred and fifty defenders, but thirty survivors. In those nine memorable April days there was no episode more glorious to the Confederate arms than the heroic self-immolation of the Mississippians in Fort Gregg to gain time for their comrades.

"Fort Gregg fell about seven o'clock in the morning of the second. After a delay of two or three hours the Federals swept onward in the direction of Petersburg, taking the Confederate lines *en reverse*. At this moment Longstreet, accompanied by Benning's brigade of Field's division, about one hundred and seventy bayonets strong, met the on-pouring flood, and checked it long enough to enable fresh troops to hurry up in his rear, and to form line in front of Petersburg.

"Simultaneously, in an attempt of Heth's division to re-establish their lines, General A. P. Hill (who commanded the corps to which Heth's division belonged) lost a life which for nearly four years he had unflinchingly exposed in a hundred of his country's battles. About the same moment was dispatched the memorable telegram which surprised President Davis in church, and announced that the last day of that heroic resistance which had made Richmond the most notable of beleaguered cities had at length arrived. The

delay purchased by the obstinate defense of Fort Gregg, and by Longstreet's bold handling of Benning's brigade, saved Petersburg until the tobacco and cotton stored in that city could be burned, and until leisurely preparations for its evacuation could be made. It is remarkable that no further onslaught was made by the Federals throughout the day, or during the evening, although the flames springing up in many parts of the town must have told their own tale. At nightfall on the second, all the Confederate troops, about four thousand strong, which remained under the command of General Ewell, to the north of James River, fell back from their lines, and passed through the bewildered streets of Richmond, traversing, before daybreak, the bridges over the James River, which were so soon to be given to the flames. About eight on the night of the same second, the Confederate troops also commenced leaving Petersburg, their retreat being covered by Field's division, under Longstreet. Pursuit there was none. It is probable that already Grant was bending all his energies to get round, and cut off Lee's retreat. The Petersburg section of the Confederate troops, full of vigor and *elan*, crossed to the north of the Appomattox River on a pontoon bridge, and made sixteen miles during the first night of retreat. It would be difficult to conceive of anything brighter, or more hopeful, than the tone of General Lee's spirits on the morning of the third. 'I have got my army safe out of its breastworks,' said he, 'and, in order to follow me, my enemy must abandon his lines, and can derive no further benefit from his railroads, or from the James River.' There can be little doubt that Lee's design was to recruit his army with rations, which he hoped to find in abundance at Amelia Court House, and to fall in detail upon the Federals, who, breaking up into bodies of one or two army corps, were scattering all over the country, with a view to a vigorous pursuit. Two days' rations at Amelia Court House, for forty thousand men, would possibly have made a great difference in the immediate, though, as I believe, none in the ultimate history of the continent of North America.

"There is little satisfaction in dwelling in detail upon the five subsequent days, for which a parallel must be sought on the banks of the Beresina, or in other similar passages of military anguish. It is hardly necessary to state that at Amelia Court House Lee found not a ration. I shall not pause now to distribute blame, or to investigate who was at fault. All that I have to state is that the fault was not Lee's, whose orders on this subject for a fortnight past had been urgent and precise. It became necessary for Lee to break nearly half of his army up into foraging parties to get food. The country through which he was passing was a tract of straggling woods and pine barrens, with occasional little patches of clearings. The foraging parties had to go so far afield in quest of food that they were taken prisoners by wholesale. In the face of such suffering as they left behind, it cannot be wondered at if some of the poor fellows courted capture. Those foragers who returned to Lee

brought little or nothing with them. The sufferings of the men from the pangs of hunger had not been approached in the military annals of the last fifty years. But the sufferings of the mules and horses must have been even keener; for the men assuaged their cravings by plucking the buds and twigs of trees just shooting in early spring, whereas the grass had not yet started from its winter sleep, and food for the unhappy quadrupeds there was none. As early as the morning of the fourth, Lee sent off half his artillery toward the railroad to relieve the famished horses. This artillery, making slow progress, thanks to the exhaustion of the horses, was captured by the Federals on the eighth, but not until General Lindsay Walker had buried many of his guns, which were, of course, subsequently exhumed (seventy of them at one haul) by their captors.

"It is easy to see that the locomotion of an army in such a plight must have been slow and slower. The retreat was conducted in the following fashion. About midnight the Confederates slipped out of their hasty works, which they had thrown up and held during the previous day, and fell back until ten or eleven o'clock the next morning. Then they halted; and immediately threw up earthworks for their protection during the day. It was not long before the wolves were again on their heels, and from their earthworks the Confederates exchanged a heavy fire with their pursuers throughout the day. Delayed by the necessity of guarding an ammunition train from thirty-five to forty miles in length, enfeebled by hunger and sleepiness, the retreating army was able to make only ten miles each night. This delay enabled the active Sheridan to get ahead with his cavalry, and to destroy the depots of provisions along the railroad between Burkesville and Danville. Upon the fifth, many of the mules and horses ceased to struggle. It became necessary to burn hundred of wagons. At intervals the enemy's cavalry dashed in and struck the interminable ammunition train here or there, capturing and burning dozens upon dozens of wagons. Toward evening of the fifth, and all day long upon the sixth, hundreds of men dropped from exhaustion, and thousands let fall their muskets from inability to carry them any farther. The scenes of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, were of a nature which can be apprehended in its vivid reality only by men who are thoroughly familiar with the harrowing details of war. Behind, and on either flank, an ubiquitous and increasingly adventurous enemy; every mud-hole and every rise in the road choked with blazing wagons; the air filled with the deafening reports of ammunition exploding, and shells bursting when touched by the flames; dense columns of smoke ascending to heaven from the burning and exploding vehicles; exhausted men, worn-out mules and horses, lying down side by side; gaunt famine glaring hopelessly from sunken lack-lustre eyes; dead mules, dead horses, dead men everywhere; death, many times welcomed as God's blessing in disguise; who can wonder if many hearts, tried in the fiery furnace of four years' unparalleled suffering

and never hitherto found wanting, should have quailed in the presence of starvation, fatigue, sleeplessness, misery—unintermitted for five or six days, and culminating in hopelessness?

"Yet there were not wanting occasional episodes which recalled something of the old pride of former memories, and reminded men that this hunted, famished crowd was still the same army which had won two Bull Runs, which had twice (in pursuit of a fatal policy) trodden its enemy's soil, and had written Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and a dozen other glorious names upon its banners. On the sixth, a large body of Federal cavalry, having got ahead of Lee's army and occupied Rice's Station, was attacked by some Confederate horse under General Rosser, who drove them off, capturing six hundred and eighty prisoners. On the seventh, a heavy attack was made on Mahone's division, and the prowess of this active Confederate General, so frequently exhibited during the last twelve months of the war, was maintained to the end, inasmuch as a Federal brigade, getting entangled in a ravine, was surrounded by Mahone's men, and literally disappeared. On the evening of the seventh, General Gregg, with six or seven thousand Federal cavalry, made a desperate attempt to capture all the wagon trains. He was gallantly met by two thousand horsemen under Fitzhugh Lee, and defeated. Gregg himself was captured.

"Throughout these gloomy days, as an offset to the countless Confederates captured while foraging by the Federals, numerous Federal prisoners were taken by the Confederates, and became participants of a hunger and suffering of which they had no previous conception. I may as well mention now, that as the surrender became more inevitable, Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Rosser, with about two thousand Confederate cavalry, tacitly determined not to be included in it, and started off towards Lynchburg. On their road they fell in with a Federal supply train, and burned eight hundred and sixty wagons. The scanty and partial rations which, after the surrender, were issued on the night of the ninth, to the starving Confederates by their captors, were apologized for by the Federals on the ground of the destruction of these eight hundred and sixty wagons by Fitzhugh Lee.

"The reader will have gathered that when General Lee found his depots along the Danville road destroyed by Sheridan, he had no alternative but to make for Lynchburg. He still hoped to get rations, and to turn suddenly upon Grant, whose army was dispersed into many columns. The fatigue of the pursuit, though unaggravated by famine, was beginning to tell upon the pursuers. But in pressing for Lynchburg, Lee found himself in a dangerous predicament. He was on a strip of land, not more than seven or eight miles broad, between the James and Appomattox Rivers. On the afternoon of the seventh, Lee's situation seemed so unpromising that Grant, for the first time, sent to propose surrender. Lee at once replied that his circumstances did not seem to him such as to justify his entertaining such a proposal. On the morning of the

eighth, Grant renewed his solicitations. Lee did not decline, but debated the matter, calling a council of war in the evening. No determination was arrived at on the eighth, and at midnight the usual dreary retreat was resumed. The springs of energy and will, unstrung by long want of food, had run down in the men like the machinery of a broken clock. Hitherto the retreat had been covered by Longstreet and Gordon alternately; but now the Federal force which had got ahead of Lee, and was obstructing his retreat, had become so considerable, that Gordon was thrown out with two thousand men in front, while the 'old bull-dog,' Longstreet, whose pluck neither hunger, nor fatigue, nor depression could abate or subdue, still covered the rear. At daybreak on the ninth, a courier from Gordon announced to Lee that a large body of Federal cavalry (in other words, Sheridan's army) was across the road at Appomattox Court-House. At the same moment, a heavy force of infantry under Grant was pushing Longstreet vigorously in the rear. Between Gordon and Longstreet were the remaining wagons, and clinging to them thousands of unarmed and famished stragglers, too weak to carry their muskets. Lee sent orders to Gordon to cut his way through, *coute qu'il coute*. Presently came another courier from Gordon, announcing that the enemy was driving him back. Lee had at this moment less than eight thousand men with muskets in their hands. The fatal moment had indisputably come. Hastily donning his best uniform, and buckling on his sword—which it was never his fashion to wear—General Lee turned sadly to the rear to seek a final interview with General Grant.

"There is no passage of history in this heart-breaking war which will, for years to come, be more honorably mentioned and gratefully remembered than the demeanor of the ninth of April, 1865, of General Grant toward General Lee. I do not so much allude to the facility with which honorable terms were accorded to the Confederates as to the bearing of General Grant and of the officers about him toward General Lee. The interview was brief. Three Commissioners upon either side were immediately appointed. The agreement to which these six Commissioners acceded was as follows:

"APPOMATTAX COURT-HOUSE, Va., April 10, 1865.

"Agreement entered into this day in regard to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to the United States authorities:

"1st. The troops shall march by brigades and detachments to a designated point, stack their arms, deposit their flags, sabres, pistols, etc., and from thence march to their homes under charge of their officers, superintended by their respective division and corps commanders, officers retaining their side arms and the authorized number of private horses.

"2d. All public horses and public property of all kinds to be turned over to staff-officers, to be designated by the United States authorities.

"3d. Such transportation as may be agreed upon as necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of officers will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over at the end of the trip to the nearest United States Quartermaster, receipts being taken for the same.

"4th. Couriers and mounted men of the artillery and cavalry, whose horses are their own private property, will be allowed to retain them.

"5th. The surrender of the army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that army on the eighth instant, the date of the commencement of the negotiations for surrender, except such bodies of cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender, and except only such pieces of artillery as were more than twenty miles from Appomattox Court House at the time of surrender on the ninth instant.

"(Signed)

"JOHN GIBSON, *Major-General Volunteers.*

"CHARLES GRIFFIN, *Brevet Major-General U. S. Vols.*

"W. MERRITT, *Brevet Major-General.*

"J. LONGSTREET, *Lieutenant-General.*

"J. B. GORDON, *Major-General.*

"W. N. PENDLETON, *Brig.-Gen. and Chief of Art'y.*

"In the meantime, immediately that General Lee was seen riding to the rear, dressed more gayly than usual, and begirt with his sword, the rumor of immediate surrender flew like wild-fire through the Confederates. It might be imagined that an army, which had drawn its last regular rations on the 1st of April, and harassed incessantly by night and day, had been marching and fighting until the morning of the ninth, would have welcomed anything like a termination of its sufferings, let it come in what form it might. Let those who idly imagine that the finer feelings are the prerogative of what are called the "upper classes," learn from this and similar scenes to appreciate "common men." As the great Confederate captain rode back from his interview with General Grant, the news of the surrender acquired shape and consistency, and could no longer be denied. The effect on the worn and battered troops—some of whom had fought since April, 1861, and (sparse survivors of heta-combs of fallen comrades) had passed unscathed through such hurricanes of shot as within four years no other men had ever experienced—passes mortal description. Whole lines of battle rushed up to their beloved old chief, and choking with emotion, broke ranks and struggled with each other to wring him once more by the hand. Men who had fought throughout the war, and knew what the agony and humiliation of that moment must be to him, strove with a refinement of unselfishness and tenderness, which he alone could fully appreciate, to lighten his burden and mitigate his pain. With tears pouring down both cheeks, General Lee at length commanded voice enough to say: 'Men, we have fought through the war to-

gether. 'I have done the best that I could for you.' Not an eye that looked on that scene was dry. Nor was this the emotion of sickly sentimentalists, but of rough and rugged men familiar with hardship, danger and death in a thousand shapes, mastered by sympathy and feeling for another which they had never experienced on their own account. I know of no other passage of military history so touching, unless in spite of the melo-dramatic coloring which French historians have loved to shed over the scene, it can be found in the *Adieux de Fontainbleau*.

"It remains for me briefly to notice the last parade of an army whereof the exploits will be read with pride so long as the English tongue is spoken. In pursuance of an arrangement of the six Commissioners, the Confederate army marched by divisions, on the morning of the 12th of April, to a spot in the neighborhood of Appomattox Court House, where they stacked arms and deposited accoutrements. Upon this solemn occasion Major-General Gibbon represented the United States authorities. With the same conspicuous and exalted delicacy which he had exhibited throughout these closing scenes, General Grant was not again visible after his final interview with General Lee. About 7,800 Confederates marched up with muskets in their hands, and they were followed by about 18,000 unarmed stragglers."

ART. VII.—THE AMERICAN COLONY IN MEXICO.

WE have expressed our opinion freely in reference to the American Colony in Mexico. We know personally, and have the highest respect for many of the eminent Southern gentlemen who are at its head, and cannot but admire that hardness of purpose which makes them brave everything in maintaining what they regard as principle. Though we have not agreed with them and have discouraged the immigration which they would encourage, time only can show whether they or we are right. Our theory is, that liberty may yet be enjoyed in the land of our nativity, but should fanaticism and radicalism prove this to be impossible, true men and brave men must find another home. Though the clouds are dark we are not yet despondent. We have the nerve yet to endure and wait.

A writer in the *New York Tribune* writing for the *Southern Colony*, says: "Sincere or not, the feelings of the rebels towards the United States assume a milder form here than at home. Distances which blot out bitterness of resentment; the hopes and prospects of a large fortune; the knowledge they have that the desire of the Emperor is, that they should abstain from any utterance calculated to wound the pride and susceptibilities of the Americans; the absorbing interest produced by the novelty and richness of the Mexican landscape; the want of rest; the softening influence of the climate; the effect of captivating scenery, speaking to the senses and to the imagination—all this, no doubt, contribute to lessen the unpleasant remembrances of the past and to deaden the pangs of defeat. I was informed, that those who have already settled here are even praising the Government of the United States. As a proof of this, one of my neighbors showed me in a number of the *Mexican Times*, edited by Governor Allen, of Louisiana, an eulogistic article on President Johnson and his message."

Speaking of the labors of the several colonists, he says: "The farms of Gen. Price, Gen. Shelby, and Gov. Harris are contiguous. None of them are yet

under cultivation, for the reason, that these gentlemen entered their lands late in October, and the season was too far advanced to go straightforward to work. They are now cleaning their fields and getting them ready for spring. The fields in this blessed country are mostly banana and pineapple plants. Fruits are found here in great abundance. It was told that there were no less than three hundred species of fruit, including the varieties. For instance, there are twelve varieties of bananas, half a dozen varieties of pineapple, five or six species of zapotillos—the most delicious fruit in the world—figs, pomegranates, oranges, &c. For their supply of meat they go to Cordova, where beef is sold at twelve and a half cents a pound."

The letter which follows was addressed by its distinguished author to a citizen of Tennessee, who caused it to be published in the *Union and American*:

My Dear Sir: I have received your letter, inquiring, like many others, about Mexico, with a view of making it their home. You know its geographical features, and the fame of its mineral wealth. Its soil is of unsurpassed fertility, and its climate, after you begin to ascend the table-lands, is as delightful and healthy as the heart of man can desire.

The Emperor is ruling wisely and mildly. Their Majesties are beloved by the Imperialists, and respected by all. They move as freely among the people as the President of the United States ever did in days of yore.

The Empire is continually gaining ground. Enterprise is abroad—many works of internal improvement are already under way, and about to be commenced. Capital is leaving its hiding-places, and the columns of the newspaper press are daily, and for months have been filled with the names of Liberals, who, looking upon the Empire as a success, and their cause as a failure, have laid down their arms and are giving in their adhesion. Property and life are daily becoming more secure. As an illustration, the doors of the house in which I live are without locks; nor do I ever take care even to shut any of them before I go to bed. True there is a *portero* below, but the building is an old convent inhabited and frequented by hundreds of people who are not barred from each other by any fastenings. The impressions abroad about Mexico are very erroneous. With regard to the inquiries in behalf of our friends who desire to come to this lovely land, I have to say: They can find desirable locations in any climate they please, and suitable for the cultivation of any staple they prefer, or the raising of any kind of stock.

As to the most profitable branch of agricultural industry, that varies with the locality; the variation depending as well upon the convenience and circumstances of the market as upon geographical conditions. Owing to the want of roads, navigable rivers and canals, internal transportation is tedious and expensive, and exportation difficult. Hence, in one part of the Empire the spectacle has not been unfrequently presented, of breadstuffs at famine prices, while in a neighboring department they were wasting for want of consumers. The most desirable location, therefore, for immigrants who are "well to do," (and this is the class that must lead the way.)

are on what may be called the intertropical belt of Mexico, within which Cordova and Jalapa are situated. This is a sort of steppe or slope which rises from the low lands of the coast to the various climates, which are to be found in all intertropical latitudes, at the height of from 2,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea. Within this range the climates are those of perpetual summer—they are healthy and delightful.

These steppes encircle the Empire on the east, south and west. They overlook the valley of the Coatzacoalcas and the Gulf of Mexico on one side, and the Pacific Ocean on the other, and abound in garden spots as beautiful as Eden itself, and as sinful too. Cordova and Jalapa are such places—they are in sight of the sea. The farmer there, and at many other places, may reap from the same field two or three crops annually, with an increase of three or four hundred fold upon the seed sown.

In the course of the present year a railway is to be completed from each of these points to Vera Cruz, which will bring them fairly within the domains of foreign commerce. Corn, cotton, coffee, sugar and tobacco all do well here, but as a rule, I consider coffee, cotton and tobacco the most profitable staples of cultivation, because they can best bear transportation and stand competition in foreign markets. Formerly, and before the country began to be tossed and vexed by revolution, lands in the neighborhood of these two cities were valued at from \$75 to \$100 per acre.

Many of these splendid haciendas, some of them large enough to accommodate with elegant farms ten times fifty families, were broken up during the revolutions, and their owners compelled to seek safety elsewhere. They have fallen into ruin and decay through absenteeism, and now that order is restored, the Empire gaining ground, and internal improvements encouraged by the wise policy of the Emperor, these lands are coming into demand.

But present owners find themselves too poor to repair and bring them under cultivation again. They are for sale, and may be bought at from \$2 to \$3 per acre.

These abandoned haciendas, (and they are to be found in all parts of the Empire), are the places for your thrifty American farmers to establish themselves. Let them, therefore, send out their head men to select a place for the whole settlement, to be followed immediately by their young men to sow, build and repair, and make ready for the old men, the women, and the children, and others to follow by the time the lands are ready.

They will find it, at first, best to establish themselves in villages as well for mutual convenience, as for protection against the bands of lawless marauders who are ever ready to pounce upon the helpless farmer. Immigrants should bring with them such mechanics as are required to satisfy their own wants and necessities.

Tell those who come, to count upon all the assistance, every facility, and the best information that it is in my power to afford, or within the province of this office to give.

In the Northern departments the vine flourishes well, and the wine is excellent.

On the slopes next the sea, cochineal and indigo are cultivated, drugs, gums, and spices collected.

The most profitable stock-raising are mules, horses and goats. There is room for profitable improvement in the breed of horses, cattle and sheep.

The immigrant is allowed free exercise of religious worship. It is guaranteed to him both by an ordinance of the Empire and a dispensation of the Pope. He is also entitled on entering the country, to a free duty permit, for all of his cattle and effects, and exemption from all taxation for one year, and from military conscription for five years. He is allowed to bring his arms also, and with his neighbors to form a sedentary militia for her own defense against robbers who are daily becoming less bold. But he may not bring in anything for sale, exchange or barter, without the payment of full duties.

In the rural districts, the Indians generally are honest; indeed, in some parts of the country, theft among them is unknown. They are a gentle and docile race. Simple in their habits, they are superstitious, entering zealously into all the festivities and ceremonies of the church.

They seem not to care to earn more than a dollar or two a week, and when they have done this, whether by two or three days of labor, they generally stop work and frolic until the money is gone, when they are ready to earn by labor in the field the next instalment. The Sabbath is not much observed by them, or the Mexican generally, except as a day of parade and pleasure. As a rule their wages are paid weekly in cash, and at the rate, generally, of from twenty-five to fifty cents a day, the laborer finding himself.

Silver is the principal circulating medium; there are also gold and copper coins, but no bank notes.

The implements of husbandry are generally rude, and agriculture is by no means in a high state of improvement. Nevertheless, the Indian and the mixed classes, of whom there are about seven millions, are skillful laborers in their way. This mode of husbandry is so much the better for the display by the European or American farmer, of his exquisite skill and the virtues of his improved implements, which last he can bring in duty free.

It is not advisable, at present, for immigrants without money to come to Mexico, unless they come under the auspices of some friend who can assist them, or under the care of some one of the various companies for establishing colonies that have been recently incorporated. Some of these propose to bring the immigrants into the country, to furnish them with land, to establish them on their farms, to subsist them for awhile, and to receive a certain portion of their crops for the loans advanced for these various services. Many, who have some means, and desire to come in companies to Mexico, and establish themselves on some of these fine but abandoned haciendas,

wish to know where these haciendas are, and their price. *Ans:* In almost every part, and at any price from a few cents to a few dollars per acre.

Of course, the prices named to me, though moderate, are the asking prices. It is best for every such company of immigrants to send some of their number ahead to select a place, and bargain for it themselves. Bryant, from Arkansas, has established a colony in Chihuahua; Mitchell, of Missouri, another on the Rio Verde, in the department of San Louis Potosi; Terry, of Texas, another in Jalisco. They rent at first, with the privilege of purchase in the meantime at a stated price.

Then there is the fine colony of Carlotta, near Cordova, where the lands were abandoned. There was a number of haciendas in that neighborhood that were indebted for more than they were worth to the church, and which, by the Juarez Government, were confiscated.

These have been expropriated by the Empire, and applied to colonization. These lands are sold to immigrants at one dollar per acre in five equal annual instalments. Gens. Price and Shelby of Missouri, Gov. Harris of Tennessee, Judge Perkins of Louisiana, Rev. Mr. Holman of Missouri, and a number of others, have already established themselves there. They are highly pleased with their prospects. By the time the railway through to Vera Cruz is completed, and the last instalment falls due, they will have improved their farms, when the most staid among them expect that their farms will be worth ten, twenty and even fifty dollars per acre.

A gentleman from Louisiana has been there for seven or eight years. He established a coffee plantation of eighty acres, which is now in good bearing, and the crops from which last year were valued at \$16,000.

The Cordova coffee sells in the New York market as Java, and the tobacco equals that of Cuba, while the sugar has fourteen per cent. more of saccharine-matter than that of Cuba. It will cost at the rate of some five or six dollars the acre to clear, enclose and bring these lands under cultivation. Hence it will be so much cheaper for those who have a little money to buy a hacienda, with ground already cleared, fences made, and houses, or at least walls of houses, already erected. All the lands of this colony are already, or soon will be, taken up. Each married man there is allowed 640 acres, but it is now generally admitted that one-fourth of that quantity will probably be quite as much as one family will be able to cultivate, it is so fertile and wonderfully productive. But to immigrants with a little capital, the speedy filling up of this colony should not be disheartening, under the idea that there are no more good lands and choice spots. There are better lands than these, both about Cordova and Julapa, which the present owners, not being able to work, are ready to sell on favorable terms. Agents have been established at various convenient points to assist immigrants on their arrival in the country, by giving them information and furnishing them with the necessary certificates and passports to enable them to

pass the custom houses, and to enjoy all the rights, privileges and exemptions of the Emperor's decree. It has not been as yet practicable to establish agencies on the Rio Grande, but as soon as it may be, one will be stationed at Presidio del Norte. At present the following agencies have been established, viz:

Y. P. Oropesa, at Vera Cruz.

John Perkins, formerly of Louisiana, at Cordova.

John T. Lux, formerly of Louisiana, at Monterey.

Alonzo Ridley, formerly of California, at Mazatlan.

Captain of port of Tampico, at Tampico.

Captain of port of San Blas, at San Blas.

Captain of port of Matamoras, at Matamoras.

Mr. Ramon de la Vega, Presidente de la Junta de Mevoras de Colima, at Manzanillo.

I am about to embark for England, expecting to return to this beautiful land accompanied by my family. The office is left in charge of my son, R. S. Maury, who, during my absence, will attend to the business of the office. He is earnest in the cause, and has now in hand a guide-book for immigrants, which will soon be ready for the press. The rainy season commences in June and ends in October. Immigrants should not come during that time.

There are many inquiries made, also, in regard to religious liberty in Mexico. Perfect freedom of worship is guaranteed by the organic law of the Empire, and sanctioned by the Pope.

I have just returned from the Palace, where I had a long and interesting interview with the Emperor. I read him your questions; we discussed them *seriatim*, and he gave his answers to them one by one. I repeat your questions and give his answers:

1st. "Will Protestant clergymen be tolerated and permitted to enjoy their religious opinions and worship in these colonies, without molestation?"

"Yes, and encouraged."

2d. "Can a support be provided for such clergymen?"

"Yes, as soon as I get my finances in a better condition."

3d. "Will they be sustained in the establishment of Protestant schools and colleges?"

"Yes."

4th. "Would a Protestant bishop be allowed among them?"

"Certainly."

5th. "Will the Government do anything toward the support of schools and colleges?"

"Yes."

6th. "Could endowments of land, or otherwise, *now* be made for their support?"

"Yes, by lands and voluntary contributions *now*, and money from the Government afterwards."

7th. "Would it be possible, for the present, to engraft on the University of Mexico, a department in which the studies, lec-

tures and instruction in general, should be in the English language?"

"The question suggests a capital idea; I will converse further with — upon that point. I desire to see communities of different religious persuasions established in the country, and to give encouragement to all, for they act and re-act upon each other with wholesome effect."

I have quoted as nearly as, after the interval of an hour, I can remember the words used by this remarkably clear-headed and business-like sovereign.

There is a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Holman, in the colony of Carlotta, near Cordova. He is the only preacher except the Rev. Mr. Mitchell (Methodist), of the Rio Verde colony, that I have yet heard of among the settlers.

In the City of Mexico, there is a large number of English and American residents who are anxious to engage the services of an Episcopal clergyman, who can minister unto them in "mother tongue." They meet at houses of one another o' Sundays, when the services of the church and a sermon are read. I attended service in a sort of "upper loft" or retired room, such as we may imagine the early Christians met together in, and in which the congregation were all Mexicans. There were not more than a dozen or two, but enough apparently to represent all classes of society.

The services were performed in Spanish, with the prayer-book in that language. The sermon was a very good one. It was also preached in Spanish, and by a Mexican who had been a priest of the Roman Catholic Church.

So you observe, my dear sir, even here in Mexico, a field and a harvest, much room for and a great lack of laborers. Come to us.

We have accounts now of some six or eight hundred emigrants with their families, who are on their way thence, and who are preparing to come hither.

I had an offer this morning of lands for colonization, on the north bank of Panuco river. They commence about thirty miles west of Tampico and extend up to the table-land. The tract includes several hundred square leagues; it is in what is known here as the Huasteca country, decidedly one of the best regions of the whole Empire. The owner, a Mexican, is very anxious for our people to establish themselves upon these lands, and has requested me to tell him how to get them there: "Give the alternate sections, with a pre-emption right to the rest, at two dollars per acre." "I'll do it," said he, "and give the lands for roads and villages besides." He has now gone to reduce the offer to writing.

The river is navigable, and the country there, has been for years, and until recently, in a disorderly and unsafe state. A few months ago, however, the people there, gave in their adhesion to the Empire, and everything now is as orderly and as quiet as could be desired.

A party of surveyors went out yesterday from the Land office to

survey a fine body of public lands in Millatoynea, one of the sub-districts of Tamaulipas.

We hear of immigrants who are coming from the South to the number of several hundred families. They should aim to arrive in this country by the first of May if possible. They would then have an opportunity to shelter themselves by the time the rains commence.

Yours, very respectfully,

M. F. MAURY, Imp. Com'r.

ART. VIII.—FRAGMENTS OF THE PAST.

More than once we have imposed upon the reader's good nature by copying into the REVIEW, from journals and manuscripts, some of the effusions of our younger days, and not having received any punishment for the offence, have grown bold enough to venture again.—EDITOR.

No. 1.—A HOLIDAY IN OUR BOYHOOD.

"But when they seldom come—they wished for come,
And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents."—Henry IV.

Shakespeare says this of holidays, and Shakespeare says rightly, thought we the other morning, musingly. We must have a holiday, and such an opportunity—Beaufort and Bluffton and Bay Point—and a steamboat excursion—glorious!* We must have a holiday. So come out from thy retreat, in the longitudinal extremity of our waistcoat pocket, and let us take one farewell glance at thy patched and battered and crumpled face, thou wretched representative of toil and sorrow—two dollar bank note! Thou art the exacted tribute. By Hercules, hast thou not disfigured our vestment long enough, and should'st go now, hurrying onward in a never-ceasing circuit from pocket to pocket, thou thing of shreds and patches.

Away go we, crashing, dashing, clattering, battering. What an eternal melody of iron—whiff, whiff, baw-aw-aw—on a pleasure excursion. . . . And now come, the broad ocean.

Oh, this interminable sinking. Those monster billows throw steamer, passengers and all in the air, and catch them again for amusement. Some giant game of ball—*Ohe! jam satis*—on a pleasure excursion!

Put on more steam—spread the canvass. Aristocratic, democratic, wonderfully pretentious little Beaufort, we greet thee in the distance! With all thy staid and stiffened gait, we love thee. With all thy calculating "*nativities*," and anxious looking back to Noah and the flood for thine eternal ancestry! We love thee for

* Twenty-five years have passed since then, and, alas, what desolation has visited those abodes of our nativity and youth, of chivalrous men and fair women, of unaffected hospitality, of refinement, elegance and wealth.—EDITOR.

the associations of other days and joys of other hours—"hours that were" when we were full of youth and full of romance.

Dreams in thee we've had of Heaven—
In this dingy planet here,
Love and beauty make a Heaven
Of a desert waste more drear.

Gales of Heaven—blow ye lightly
O'er this clime, we fondly pray;
Lights of Heaven—shine ye brightly,
Gild it with effulgent day.

Mem'ry, faithful in its duties,
Will not fail to linger here;
Will not fail to paint thy beauties,
To the heart forever dear.

But those days have gone, and with them our youth, our romance and our poetry, and such poetry—*bah!*

Bluffton this morning. Yet, stay a moment; they come, tripping it gently and lightly, with bright, sparkling eyes and roseate cheeks, the fair ones of Beaufort. Soft, fair, fragile, blushing, gentle, coying, languishing. Gay hearts ye have to-day, and warm ones, and gushing feelings and hopes, and bright, cheering anticipations. A gala day, indeed!

Hark! it ascends—floating upon the breezes, eddying in the current, Apollo and Orpheus, and ye, daughters of Mnemosyne, catch these strains, and greet thine immortal "band" of votaries! The well-attenuated and sonorous reed adjusted to the hand and the pastorals of Maro and the Tiber.

. And thou art here, too—poor, blind bard. There is that which speaks the soul in thy unsophisticated countenance, and in thy sightless balls an expression which few know how to read. Patient and enduring in desolation. Come, child of song, yours is a nobler strain—a higher aspiration. There is that in thy melody which steals the soul away and carries it to heaven. Thou guardest sacredly thine instrument of melody. It is to thee a world of light and glory. It awakes an extacy in thy heart, and dispels the snows that gather around it. Awake its living harmonies—let its liquid waves of sound float onward and upward, and thy clear, deep voice, be taught to follow it into the high and airy regions of thine own Schiller. Thou art touching it now, and thy soul is mounting upwards; it feels its imperishable essence; the bonds are galling it, and the dross disgusts it; the fetters break, and the spirit soars, reveling amid suns, and worlds, and systems, on the bosom of eternity. Art thou happy now, blind bard?

Well did the heart of the old Huguenot warm, and his lip vent the passionate exclamation, when his wearied gaze first fixed upon thee, beautiful BROAD. There is a wild romance which lurks about thy shores, and hurries us back to other times. And thou, too, gentle,

meandering MAY, with the shadows of the tall pines sleeping upon thy bosom. We are floating on thy current, and the gentle zephyrs are fanning us, and the liquid strains are ascending; the merry peals, and the bright flashing eyes, and the silvery accents of love, attend us as we float upon thy surface, oh, lovely May!

We have climbed thy rugged slope and reached its top, and gaze upon the now romantic Bluffton. Thy beautiful ones, too, are decking themselves in their gaudiest paraphernalia to meet and rejoice in hospitalities with the stranger. The bright galaxy have gathered upon the shore; and happy urchins think that heaven has blessed them to-day.

And now they come, from sister cities, with their happy throngs, the "Beaufort" and the "Santee." Georgia sends her fair ones to-day, so joyous and so happy, and they meet and embrace Carolina's daughters on the banks of the lovely "May."

It is over now. Evening's shades are gathering, and lengthened shadows fall. They have gathered on the "bluff," the sorrowing heart, the waving 'kerchief, the cheer, the shout. Speed the onward gallant vessels, freighted with the chivalry and pride of sister cities, and one last, lingering look and shout for thee, Bluffton! Farewell forever.

NO. 2.—ON THE DEATH OF HUGH S. LEGARE.*

Pallida mors,
Equo pede, tabernas pauperum,
Turresque regum; pulsat.—*Hor.*

LEGARE, who has never, who can never be mentioned without admiration and respect. LEGARE, whose transcendent genius could only be associated with the airy heights of Olympus, and whose patriotism lived and glowed with inspiration caught from the immortal architect of the *Phillipics* and the exiled chronicler of the *Peloponnesus*.

To be known—yet never seen. To have won favor and admiration, to be greeted everywhere with the shouts of proud and grateful hearts. A whole country for a home, and a whole nation warming into enthusiasm at the mention of a name. This is to attain a giddy elevation; to reach a height worthy of the immortality of genius.

But we shall contemplate no more in our midst that exalted character. He is gone, dissipated, as it were, in the mists of his sublime elevation. Gone, and what remains? The shroud—the sarcophagus and the clay.

Expende Hanibalem, quot libras, &c.

But he is not dead. Death, though it may destroy the "*sensible*

* Written in 1842.

proof" of existence, is impotent against that existence itself. It is only the mortality of LEGARE that the satyrist could "weigh," only the mortality that is exhibited in its insignificance.

Mors sola fatetur,
Quantula sint hominum corporacula.

This is the highest eminence to which death essays; his shafts are broken here. There is that which cannot die. When mortality ceases, immortality begins—the bright immortality of LEGARE.

"Nam divitiarum, et formae gloria fluxa, atque fragilis; virtus clara, deteraque habetur."

It was a superstition, amiable and beautiful in its exercise, which sent the ancient Greek and Egyptian to heaven, in search of the guardian spirit he had lost on earth. How touching the conviction when one of their number, celebrated for the lofty exercise of virtue or patriotism, was removed, that it was to a higher sphere, where, unfettered in action, every energy could be applied in ameliorating the condition of those so loved in life, to shield, protect and bless them. The apotheosis of the good and the brave is among the first sentiments of unenlightened reason, and among its latest, metaphysics can exhibit nothing more tender and affecting.

It has been said (Raynal, Am. Rev.), "if deification be due to man, it is undoubtedly due to that man who fights and dies for his native soil." Can this be affirmed of the warrior only whose blood purchases liberty to his country? What is there, then, for the genius of the scholar, whose wonderful resources—whose transcendent effort, and untiring zeal, builds up a mighty bulwark around that liberty—preserves, confirms and establishes it?

"Peace has her victories," &c.

The laurels of Minerva, though less imposing at first sight, are more useful and enduring than those of Mars. The song of Homer is heard, to remind the world, that Ajax lived, and Agamemnon was mighty. How divine the comfort which the dying Pericles is said to have drawn from the reflection, that he had never made one of his countymen wear mourning.

Republics have been said to be ungrateful. They have been affirmed to be sterile fields in which disinterested patriotism is choked and perishes. And, yet, LEGARE was a republican—born, lived, died, in a republic. They point us to Athens. Was there ever more than a fickle, transient cloud, to obscure virtue there? By the tragedy at Susa, the reputation of Themistocles was vindicated, and his memory was held in veneration ever after. The "Just" was honored with a public funeral. A monument pierced the clouds for Socrates; and Demosthenes triumphed over the vindictive and venal thunders of the Philipized Aeschines. True virtue had little to fear from the terrors of ostracism. Its potency disarmed, and as it were, in effect, ostracised the ostracism itself.

In no country under heaven can consummate genius and virtue reach, other than an elevated niche in the public estimation; and,

least of all, in a republic, whose very soul is virtue, and where, alone, it is admitted to be the criterion of excellence. The lamented LEGARE has exemplified this; wherever his name was heard—wherever his reputation traveled, there was he revered—there is he regretted. Courted by public honor, crowned by public confidence, he has mounted upwards, challenging, by his fate, the unfeigned grief of every bosom. Great men are the property of the nation.

If man is ever humbled, it must be with an exhibit on of his weakness. Speculative admonitions of it, will not suffice, there must be practical exemplifications. Speak to a man's intellect and he hears, address his senses and he *understands* you. Death speaks to the senses, but it is not always equally impressive; when he goes down into the hovel and singles out his victim from the mire, there are few laurels won in the unequal contest; the "*victory*" is little heeded. Let him seek out the palace and break its bolts and bars; seek the senate house, the high seats of authority; let him grapple with the strong man, and the mighty man, and the man of genius!

The nation that wreaths a garland for the brow of a gifted, noble son, will soon have fresh garlands to wreath. The shouts that ascend to heaven in welcome of the patriot and the sage may die upon the air, but they are not lost. There have been vibrations produced in the human heart, a morbid excitement succeeds; the pulsations do not cease with the removal of their cause. Those shouts are ever after heard in activity as in solitude, impelling onward to fame and glory.

The public honor decreed at Athens to those who became eminent in the service of the State, account for Athenian glory, and explains what was to Valerius Maximus so great an anomaly, that after banishing Aristides, Athens could still find one virtuous or deserving citizen, *invenire aliquem bonum*, &c. The monument erected at the "Pass," in Phocia, inscribed by Simonides, was seen in the heart of Attica, nerved and inspired at Marathon, conquered at Mantinea.

The games celebrated in honor of the Peloponnesian dead, and the eloquent eulogy of Pericles, roused up in many a bosom dormant but noble energies, and sent forth eager aspirants for contest in the high fields of thought and action.

ART. IX.—AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND THE APPROACHING FRENCH EXHIBITION.

It is understood that Congress will make liberal appropriations in aid of the exhibition of American products at the great French Fair in 1867.

The London Exhibition of 1851, that of Paris in 1855, at London again in 1862, and Hamburg in 1863, were under individual auspices though aided by Government. For the first time Government itself undertakes the great work, and France appropriates twenty millions of francs, and is followed by the other European powers for lesser amounts. A building which covers thirty-six acres of ground has been erected in the Champ de Mars, one-eighth of which

is allotted to the United States. It is proposed to divide the produce of the country into ten groups, and appoint a scientific commissioner for each.

With these remarks by way of preface, we introduce the following views and speculations, for which we are indebted to the Hon. N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts.—EDITOR.

WE did not know in 1851, when we sent to London unknown men, not unknown merely in England, but unknown in America, that they were to instruct and electrify the people of all nations most interested in prominent industrial pursuits. When Mr. McCormick took out his reaper it was hardly recognized here as a successful implement of agriculture. It was regarded rather as evidence of speculative than practical mechanical genius. It was only when it challenged and received the admiration of the world that general attention in this country was called to its great merits and wonderful success. When George Steers sent out the yacht *America* it attracted little attention. The London Journals announced, after a careful examination of its model, that it was of a novel and not very promising style of architecture, of which we had no great reason to be proud; but when it entered the contest against the sailing vessels of the whole world, and so far won in the sea race as to leave no flag second, then every American heart bounded with joy, and the light of brighter thought and new ideas broke upon the people of all nations.

There were other honorable examples of American skill. There went from New York city an unknown mechanic, Mr. A. C. Hobbs, a native, I believe, of Massachusetts. His purpose was to exhibit a commercial lock of American manufacture. The English locksmiths, Chubb and Bramah, put their most ingenious and important pieces of mechanism against the world. Bramah had exposed his lock in one of the grand throughfares of London, with an offer of 200 guineas to any one who could open it, for more than twenty years, without a claimant for the golden prize. Mr. Hobbs opened the Chubb lock in twenty-five minutes, and relocked it in seven. He did this with such facility that the London News said it rendered the challenge ridiculous. The London mechanics estimated that it would require the life-time of a Methuselah to open the Bramah lock, if it could be done at all, so numerous were its combinations; but Mr. Hobbs unlocked and relocked it, after a couple of days' study and experiment, without injury, as often as it was desired, to the astonishment of the English mechanics. But this was not his only triumph. He offered to allow any man to take his own lock to pieces and put it together again, and then challenged him to open it, and there was not a man in England that could do it.

But, sir, it is unnecessary to refer to the brilliant success of other American exhibitors, and yet every one must confess, that so far as the Government was represented in the Exhibition of 1851, it was a melancholy and discreditable feature. We were saved from humiliation, if not disgrace by the unexpected and marvellous skill and power of our own unappreciated mechanics.

In the Exposition of 1863, at Hamburg, the Government was not represented, but some of our enterprising citizens were there; among others, an enterprising farmer from the State of Vermont, on his own account, without the slightest expectation of achieving distinction for himself or his country. He took with him, to represent one of the great staple interests of this country, twelve sheep. I do not suppose there is a man in this House, or that there was at that time a man in the United States, who believed for a single moment that the American States were equal in sheep culture to those nations where it has been pursued with zealous and prudent care for many hundred years. In the Exposition at Hamburg, thirty-five different nations were represented. The crowned heads of Europe had their own finest specimens of the sheep of Europe and Asia; the Emperor of the French was represented among others by his own choice specimens of stock. And this Vermont sheep raiser, Mr. Campbell—I ought to mention his name—who carried out, at his own cost, twelve sheep, was honored not only by a comparison of his animals with those of other States, but he received two first prizes, and a second prize, for the superiority of his stock. The award was not made by friends of this Government, not by men interested in our people, but by strangers; and when it was announced that an American had received two first prizes for the superiority of his stock, and the second prize also, it was rejected as fabulous, and being verified by the subsequent publication of the awards, the integrity of the judges was disputed; but Mr. Campbell challenged a second examination, which was not accepted, and the award was further vindicated by the sale of his sheep to the first breeders of Europe for \$5,000.

In works of art, although we have a reputation not yet in blossom, I am sure we shall stand in some respects the equals of modern representatives of older nations. The illustrations of the grand features of American scenery by Church, Bierstadt, Lutze and others; the marbles of Powers, Story, and Hosmer, and other sculptors yet unknown, and who will never be known except they shall have an opportunity to compare their achievements with the art triumphs of other countries, cannot fail to attract at least respectful attention.

In wood engraving, the great democratic exemplification of the art most important of all to literature, and for that instruction of the people, the United States not only stands equal to the best, but it has achieved distinction by photographic applications and other processes hitherto unknown to artists of the same profession in other parts of the world, which will hereafter be to the art of design what photography has been to painting. The day is not distant when neither journals nor books will be published in this country without pictorial illustration.

The inexpensive and most instantaneous process of making casts from life lately introduced, will make the study of sculpture, that branch of art most attractive to Americans, as common as crayon

sketching and photography. The cultivation of the art of design is destined to give our manufactures and commerce an advantage which has been hitherto monopolized by older nations, and open to our people, women as well as men, elevated and limitless occupation. In the manufacture of silverware, jewelry, porcelains and other articles of luxury, in which elegance of design and skillful handiwork constitute the chief value, our products already maintain exclusive possession of our own markets.

In materials and applications for the liberal arts, we have no just, still less exact knowledge of our capacity. We can only know by comparison with other nations what this continent will produce in the way of materials applicable to the liberal arts, but we need not be surprised if in this feature of the first group we stand as well as other nations.

In the fifth group, which embraces minerals and the raw and wrought products of mining, certainly we may assume that no part of the world is equal to the United States. The mines of Russia do not compare with our metalliferous deposits. The mineral regions of Russia are chiefly on the eastern slope of the Ural mountains, from three to five thousand miles from St. Petersburg, whose waters run mainly from the centers of population to the Arctic sea, the expense of transportation consuming the greater part of the value of the products. Our exhaustless wealth lies on the lines of settlement, where population is moving, where railroads are constructed, and towns, cities, and States are rising, and commerce flows in living and perpetual streams, so that we may say that our mineral wealth in respect to the seaports of the Atlantic or Pacific coast, in view of the great lines of rail and water transportation, are the same to us, or will be, as if it were at the threshold of the Mint of Philadelphia and San Francisco, or the marts of New York and Boston.

The capacity of our people in mechanism and invention requires no endorsement, and in other branches of manufacturing industry we shall maintain at least a respectable position. In respect to mechanical development, it is impossible for us to estimate justly our own position without comparison with other nations. But our progress will far surpass our own expectations. The most successful exhibition of American industry ever given by the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association was that of last year, when, on account of the press of applications for space, machines were excluded, except those which had been invented within the last five years.

The chief feature in our progress is the achievement of numerous and surprising results by the aid of machinery, which in other lands are accomplished by the slow and costly process of manual labor. The adaptation of machinery to the manufacture of watches, where the roughly swedged materials are in a single day, under one roof, at a small cost, by the labor of girls and men, turned out in the form of time-keepers, equal in style, workmanship and integrity of time, to the best articles of European manufacture; the substitution of

mechanical for manual labor in the cultivation of the soil ; the construction of philosophical instruments, and in the manufacture of arms and ordnance, and in naval architecture, and the general adaptation of mechanical powers to the purposes of Christian civilization, are among the wonders of the world. If other nations surpass us, their instruction will richly repay us for any contributions we make to the general stock of industrial ideas.

Let a square yard of the prairie soil of the northwest, and the rich alluvial of the Mississippi valley, be transported in glass, covered by the natural grass which furnishes food for the autumnal prairie fires, showing its depth, accompanied by the products to which it gives life ; the charts which illustrates its location ; the tables which show its extent ; the prices at which it is held ; the cereals which it is capable of producing ; its proximity to the markets of the world, and the probable increase of the population it is destined to support within the present generation ; and the landless millions of European middle-life will gain new hopes, and give to American civilization renewed strength and nobler aspirations.

Let me recall a few of the leading features of our position and power, scarcely known to us, and never contemplated by the people of other countries.

Our cereal products double in quantity every ten years. They are now larger than the grain crops of France, equal to those of England, and, in ten years, will exceed the crops of both empires. Lamartine, in his letter justifying the French occupation of Mexico, says distinctly that the North American Continent is to become the granary of the world, and that France must control a portion of its territory, or be subordinate to the Government and people of the United States.

The cotton crop gives employment to forty million Europeans. It has been cultivated in eight States, mainly in but five. Its largest product has been five million bales a year. It can be successfully and profitably cultivated in twenty States, certainly in half of the States of the Union, and instead of being limited to five million, we will soon send to the markets of the world twenty million bales each year.

The grape is an indigenous product of this country. In the northern Mexican States, on the Pacific coast, in the valley of the Mississippi, on the Ohio, and in other sections, there is evidence, abundant and irresistible, that we shall soon share, at least, with the rest of the world in the control of its wine markets. We already export wines, with other agricultural products, from the Pacific coast to South America, Australia, the Sandwich Islands, Japan, and the Asiatic nations.

The mineral wealth of this country is fabulous. No man would be credited for a moment in the industrial council of nations, next year, if he stated upon his own responsibility what is the possible, even the probable, development of the mineral wealth of this

country. It is only when the Government makes its exposition that the people of the old world will credit the relation. Our metalliferous regions embrace seventeen parallels of latitude, and nearly an equal measure of longitude, covering two million square miles, the whole of which is plethoric with iron, lead, copper, asphaltum, silver, quicksilver, gold, and other known and unknown mineral substances.

California has already given us \$460,000,000 in gold. The same energy applied to other mineral regions of the Pacific coast will return an annual product of \$400,000,000 in gold, and \$200,000,000 in other useful and precious metals. Six hundred million dollars a year! In the centre of the continent, between our most populous States, on the threshold of our commercial cities, at the doors of the mints of Philadelphia and San Francisco, lies this deposit! Its value is inappreciable, its presence is unquestionable, its proximity undeniable, and its realization demands but the completion of the lines of transportation now in process of construction! What in the world is equal to it? What are the mines of Spain, of India, and Australia? Russia alone offers material for comparison; Russia, whose metallic wealth lies mainly upon the eastern slope of the Ural Mountains, from three to five thousand miles from the centres of commerce and population; cut off from the artificial and natural lines of communication, and offering no available natural outlet, except the waters that flow from the mountains northward into the Arctic Sea.

Several years since, Baron Von Humboldt expressed to Mr. Sanford, our Minister to Belgium, the confident belief that the mountains of Virginia would be found to be a rich deposit of diamonds. And in confirmation of this suggestion of one who could read the surface of the earth as an expert in natural science recognizes a fish by its bones or its scales—as if in exemplification of the philosophic theory of Humboldt, we see it announced, in the southern portion of the continent, that diamonds and other precious stones have already been discovered.

We know comparatively nothing of the mineral character, resources, or wealth of the metalliferous regions of our country. It is only when we shall stand in the council of scientific men, representing all parts of the world, and thoroughly conversant with its wondrous developments, our own resources fully and justly represented that we shall be able to estimate their value.

I need not speak of the petroleum discoveries in the view or with the spirit of speculation. I have no eye for speculation. I never saw in my life a share of stock or scrip of any sort, and have no care for such things. I do not doubt that, so far as petroleum is the subject of speculation, it will be, as all speculation is, a public injury. But we must respect the developments of nature, in whatever shape they present themselves. Here in the rich bosom of our most populous States, we discover that Providence has given to us wealth in a form indispensable to all nations and all pursuits, in

almost exhaustless quantities. It would seem as if precious oils flowed in the veins of the earth as does its water; that when it is exhausted in one place it appears in another, and when exhausted in the second fountain it reappears in the first. With any ordinary and reasonable drain upon this most bounteous and marvellous development, we may well say that it is exhaustless. It extends from the Alleghanies to the Pacific coast, and may be found anywhere within an area of two million square miles; and no man can fix his stake at any point where it is not possible to penetrate the earth and receive wealth in this form, in addition to the other perhaps more reliable and beneficent products of the soil.

Let us look at another subject in which we have or ought to have some interest. It is the American railway system. The railway is a new element of civilization and power. We have thirty-one thousand miles of railroad—four times as much as England—more than any other country. We can build as much as we want, and as soon as we please. Other nations count the cost, but we have no cost, for to invest in a railway is to give value to property existing in other forms. The construction of our railways has cost \$1,100,000,000. Eight hundred millions, as I stated the other day, were expended between 1850 and 1860; and I have no doubt that between 1870 and 1880, \$1,000,000,000 more will be invested, so that we shall have a railway to every part of this country, connecting all the points of domestic wealth with the commerce of the world, whether it be the coal of Pennsylvania, the lead of Illinois, the copper of Michigan, or the gold and silver of the Pacific coast.

Mr. Oliphant, of the British Parliament, said in a public speech, the other day, that in religious and secular education, the United States are ahead of the whole world. It is well known that we appropriate more money in public education than all other nations. In the exposition of 1867, education will be a material feature. It would be a crime if the nations of the earth are to report progress in popular education, and the Government of the United States should not, in this respect, at least, be properly represented. And the same is true of the public press of the country, another form of public education in which adults rather than children, receive instruction. In its present democratic form, it is essentially an American institution. In 1860, of four thousand journals, according to the census returns, a thousand million copies were published and sold, making one weekly copy for every soul in the country, and the annual publication is now probably more than double the number.

The area and population of every country limit its productive power. The population is its only active agent in the development of its resources, and its territorial area limits the growth and strength of its population. In these respects, we cannot well hesitate to enter the arena of comparison. Our territorial area is nearly three million square miles. It is equal to the area of Europe. More than nine hundred million acres have been sold to

actual settlers, and a thousand million acres yet remain in the hands of the Government. Less than twenty per cent. of the land is now cultivated, the average value of which is but fourteen dollars per acre, while that still unsold cost but a dollar and a quarter. It is a grand theatre, certainly, for the development of population. It will support a thousand million people. Populated as England now is, 330 to a square mile, the valley of the Mississippi alone will maintain nearly that number. It will grow every product of the eastern or western hemisphere, tea, coffee, and sugar in the south-west, grain in the northwest, and become the depot of the luxuries and necessities of life.

The second element of national strength keeps pace with the extension of territory. France has grown in population, they say, thirty-seven per cent. in sixty years. Prussia has increased a hundred and fifteen per cent., and England one hundred and thirty-seven per cent. in the same time, while the growth of our population has been five hundred and ninety-three per cent. on our numbers in 1800. We double every thirty years. In 1876, a century from the Declaration of Independence, with a government by all for all, the fundamental condition of which is universal freedom, we shall number fifty millions. At the close of this century, we shall have a population of a hundred millions, and in 1950, two hundred and fifty millions, nearly equal to that of Europe at this time.

The evidences of wealth harmonize with the elements of popular power.

The property valuation of the country has doubled every fifteen years, since the beginning of the century. It was then one thousand million dollars. It is now sixteen thousand millions. It more than doubled from 1850 to 1860, and in 1870 will exceed thirty thousand million dollars, greater than the valuation of England which doubles only in thirty years.

ART. X.—THE FUTURE OF ITALY.*

THE permanent disintegration of Italy was an accepted fact. The degradation which, under the fostering care of petty tyrannies had infected the heart of her people, the wild schemes of her few sons, who had not forgotten the name of nationality and the heavy pressing incubus of Austrian despotism, were admitted to preclude all hope of Italian unity; but suddenly, amid the thunder and smoke of Magenta and Solferino, the simultaneous uprising of Central Italy, and the magic Sicilian conquests of Garibaldi, there appears an Italian nation of (22,000,000) twenty-two million people. Is this appearance of unity a glorious fact or a dazzling phantom, whose speedy vanishing shall demonstrate what the long line of patriotic failures from Rienzi to the republic of '48 had indicated—the inher-

* We hope to publish a series of similar papers upon all the States of Europe, and invite their preparation by those familiar with such studies.—EDDION.

ent incapacity of the Italians for nationality? The interest of the question is heightened by its intricacy through the great variety and uncertain influence of the elements involved. Its discussion must be mainly a balancing of opposing facts and tendencies.

Let us first notice the obstacles to a permanent Italian nationality. Her territorial unity is incomplete. Venice—one with Lombardy, by every natural element of union—is yet enslaved to Austria, and Rome, the natural and historic capital of Italy, is held by that spiritual power whose hostility to the new nation finds its exponent in the excommunication of her sovereign.

Italy is in constant peril from foreign foes. Austria, commanding a standing army of 570,000, traditionally regarding Italy as her natural spoil, still holds the Quadrilateral; here, in the center of Northern Italy, on the border of Lombardy, the first State of Italy in wealth, culture and natural resources, Francis Joseph can mass an army ready for invasion.

Nor is Italy in danger from Austria alone. Napoleon, while anxious to weaken Austria's influence in the peninsula, while, probably not without some sympathy for the oppressed Italians, has yet shown that he does not desire a truly independent Italian nationality. While claiming the high honor of fighting for an idea, he secretly makes the cession of Nice and Savoy the condition of the expulsion of the Austrians. If we remember that these provinces comprise those mountain passes which a handful could hold against an army, we can estimate the worth of that generosity which would free Italy from one tyrant to make her dependent on another. This is not the worst. Napoleon did not fulfil the conditions of the cession. Italy was to be freed, but he left to Austria Venetia and the Quadrilateral, yet he none the less demanded the Alpine provinces. If the original stipulation revealed the commercial character of the Emperor's friendship, how shall we characterize the insisting on the payment of the full price when the work was but half performed? No wonder Victor Emanuel shed tears at such a surrender of the home of his ancestors, the cradle of his monarchy; no wonder the Milanese, who had greeted the army of intervention with applause and benediction, whose maidens had strewn their pathway with flowers, wreathed them with garlands, and rushed to the pavement to embrace them, now shrunk from them with fear and abhorrence. No wonder Cavour, for once gave way to a fury of rage, which did not regard the presence of his sovereign. But two corps of the French army remained at Milan to enforce the demand, and Nice and Savoy were yielded up.

The States of Central Italy had expelled their tyrants, and, with almost entire unanimity, desired annexation to Piedmont. Piedmont reciprocated the wish. The articles of Villa Franca, moreover, had stipulated that they should be free to choose their condition; but it was only after intrigue had been exhausted that the Emperor permitted the consummation of the popular will.

When the conquests, or rather triumphal progress of Garibaldi,

had so nearly freed the Sicilies, that the forlorn hope of Francis II., shut up at Gaeta, could not, unaided, offer the shadow of resistance to Sardinia, Louis Napoleon, to prevent the unification of Italy, did not scruple, month after month, to prop the falling fortunes of that Bourbon whose wanton fines and exiles, and noisome dungeons had given him an infamy hardly surpassed in all the annals of his cruel race.

Once more. The French occupation of Rome, already cited, as showing the incompleteness of Italian unity, equally proves the Emperor's hostility.

It has been urged that Napoleon's seeming opposition to Italian nationalization springs from necessity, imposed upon him to conciliate the papal power. Had he shown himself the obedient son of the Church, the plea would have weight, but he has refrained from no measure injurious to her, which seemed conducive to his ends. He has not only suppressed her journals, but joined her enemies, curtailed her territory, and sanctioned the appointment of a Sardinian prime minister long the open advocate of confiscation of church property. The plea, then, is groundless. But were it true, it would only substitute for the hostility of one man, past middle life, that of the controlling religious element of the French people.

The internal hindrances to Italian unity require but brief discussion; not because secondary, but because obvious and undisputed. Is unity in coinage, language and race essential? Almost every Italian duchy and principate has its separate coinage; the dialect of the Piedmont peasant is jargon to the Sicilian; and in race the Teutonic element of the North is in marked contrast to the Grecian of the South.

In these days of costly government, the state of the finances is a question of great importance. In Italy, from the time when Cavour decided to participate in the Crimean war, nearly or quite every year has brought a deficit of the revenue and an increase of the debt.

In Central and Southern Italy despotism has borne its natural fruit in degradation, reaching to the soul. Hence a general ignorance of the rudiments of knowledge; hence a priesthood nearly as ignorant as the mass, whose piety lies chiefly in adherence to the Pope and hatred of liberalism, so numerous, too, that every household has one or two; hence, mendicancy, seen not alone in the crowds of squalid lazaroni, but so manifest even in the higher classes at Naples as to excite the contempt of Sardinian officials; hence that cowardice which made the soldiers of Francis II. the ridicule rather than the foe of the Piedmontese. Along with timidity, we find its natural accompaniments, hardness and ferocity. In Central Italy these latter traits appear in frequent political assassinations, while in Calabria even the women torture Sardinian prisoners of war.

Finally, a formidable obstacle to Italian unity lies in the ultra-republicanism and infidelity which so largely pervade the liberal party itself. It may be urged that the unanimity with which Central and Southern Italy voted annexation to Sardinia, evince full capacity for

self-government. But that admiration for an invincible general which thrills the most enlightened people, and rises to reverence among the benighted, would attract them to the banner of Garibaldi; add the crushing weight of their old despotisms, and you have a sufficient cause for their action without the existence of any high degree of virtue and intelligence.

Let us now turn to the grounds for hope. The diversity in dialect and race is not so prominent as in England and Scotland, where they co-exist with perfect political union. The local systems of coinage may easily be supplanted with a national system.

The baser element is mainly excluded from political power. Annexation appears to have been by universal suffrage, but since the passage of the organic act for the payment of taxes, to the amount of eight dollars, is a requisite for the franchise.

Red Republicanism, while it has repeatedly caused no little embarrassment to the moderate party, has nearly always been in the minority. If it has for the moment gained the ascendancy, either responsibility has made it cautious, or its excesses have driven the nation back to conservatism.

For all the forms of Southern degradation we have a counter Northern element. To offset stupidity and corruption we have intelligence and virtue. Instead of a pusillanimous soldiery, an army to whose skill and valor the Crimea and Solferino are a sufficient testimony. In place of Neapolitan lazaroni, a peasantry whose industry has made Piedmont and Lombardy a garden. Instead of an ignorant priesthood, loyal only to the Pope, an enlightened clergy, whose piety involves patriotism. This union of piety and patriotism is a noble trait of Northern Italy. It is nobly illustrated in these memorable words of her sovereign: "True to the creed of my fathers, and like them, constant in my homage to the Supreme Head of the Church, whenever it may happen that the ecclesiastical authority employs spiritual arms in defense of temporal interests, I shall find in my steadfast conscience, and in the very traditions of my ancestors, the power to maintain civil liberty in its integrity, and with it my own authority—that authority for which I hold myself accountable to God and my people only."

But Northern Italy has a far nobler faith than the most enlightened Catholicism. Driven from plain and valley to the nooks of the Savoyan Alps, occupying but sixty square miles of arable land, the victims of thirty-three religious wars, and of all the tortures within the compass of inquisitorial ingenuity, the Waldensian Christians have kept a pure faith. They now accept, with holy enthusiasm, the regeneration of Italy as their mission. At peril of life, nay, at untold sacrifice of life, they have kept the sacred truth, that, in the fulness of time, they might publish it for the salvation of their persecutors. And this little handful of mountaineers, filling no brilliant page in history, having neither wealth nor learning, known only through suffering; hardly noticed to-day by most who consider the Italian question may be the element whose elevating power can alone make Italian nationality a possibility.

The new kingdom has now been on trial seven years. Already, contact with the superior enlightenment of the North is improving the Neapolitan provinces. The lazaroni of Naples are fast becoming a feature of the past; the Sicilian peasantry have caught something of northern industry and thrift: liberty has brought courage too, so that the Piedmontese soldier is not ashamed of his Southern comrade. The improvement reaches the heart. The Waldensian colporteur is successful even in benighted Naples, while England and America are aiding the work of evangelization earnestly, and with signal blessing attending it.

Yet, it may be urged, that all favorable indications are of little value when each year's budget shows a deficiency in the revenue. A constantly increasing debt is an ominous feature, but the contest of England with Napoleon affords a precedent for rapidly increasing a national debt, through a series of years, without bankruptcy; moreover, the revenues of Italy are annually more nearly approximating the expenses, while the development of the country's resources, by the great system of railroads inaugurated by the far-seeing Cavour, and prosecuted by his successors, and the general mental and moral progress, will enable the nation to pay heavier and heavier taxes. The great drain on Italy's exchequer is her army, which numbers nearly four hundred thousand men. This must be maintained until her unity is complete. When she shall have acquired Rome and Venetia her policy will be no longer aggressive but defensive, therefore she can greatly reduce her army, while the increase of territory will augment her revenues. Thus the financial prospect for Italy depends on her foreign relations. To those we now turn.

Austria while menacing Italy by the possession of the Quadrilateral, has, since the peace, treated Sardinia fairly. She has even disclaimed all intention to reclaim her former spoil. Moreover, the exhaustion of her finances, and the chronic disaffection in Hungary and Venetia, put her under heavy bonds to keep the peace.

Nay, if she shall become involved in war with Prussia, will not Italy, with her immense army and her navy—a sixth larger than that of Austria—easily free Venetia? While I write, such a consummation seems not improbable. It is reported that Prussia has made an alliance with Italy, and that the latter is increasing her forces. Thus, very possibly, we may see Bismark repeating the strange *role* of Napoleon, crushing constitutional liberty at home but promoting it abroad.

We have seen full evidence of Napoleon's hostility to Italian unity. But even he partially succumbs to the spirit of the age and the strength of the new kingdom. We saw this in Central Italy and at Gaeta. The same fact is illustrated in two subsequent events—the appointment of Prince Napoleon on the Council of Regency, and the treaty of September, 1864. The former gives a controlling position, in the event of the Emperor's death, to a steadfast friend of Italy; the latter pledges the evacuation of Rome before 1867. Subsequent pretexts and interpretations have lessened the value of

the treaty, but the past quite clearly indicates that imperial ambition will ultimately yield to the persistent demand of Italy for unity. We should notice that Italy has strengthened herself against France by transferring the seat of government to Florence. This city is within a mountain range, which, according to General Cialdini, is passable in but seven points, easily defensible.

We have now completed our survey of the Italian question. The results of despotism at home, and the hostility of despotism abroad, combine, with the excesses of untaught freedom, to accomplish her ruin. Yet, at home, Northern conservatism and progress seem more than a match for red republicanism and Southern degradation, while abroad, the spirit of the age or their necessities curbs the ambition of her foes. Thus, while there are elements of evil which, unimpeded, would involve speedy dissolution, the elements of strength appear the stronger; yet there is enough of uncertainty to cause anxiety.

Italy draws our interest by no common ties. She gives us the legends of kingly Rome, and the simple virtue of the republic, and the splendor of the empire and its priceless legacies of art and literature and law. She first, as a people, received our holy faith; she illumined the middle ages by the magnificence of her merchant republics; she caught and reflected the first rays of the returning light of letters; more than all, to-day, by the purity and genius of Garibaldi, by the profound statesmanship of Cavour, by the 10,000 patriot dead of Magenta and Solferino, by her self-sacrifice in the hour of the nation's travail, and her self-control in the hour of triumph, she proves herself worthy of freedom; and by this same self-sacrifice and self-control, she assures us that there shall be an Italy of the future, triumphant over all peril within and without, excelling her mythic and classic and medieval glory, not by magnificence at cost of popular rights, but by asserting, through a living example in the midst of continental despotism, the strength and beauty of free institutions.

ART. XI.—JOURNAL OF THE WAR—ENTERED UP DAILY IN THE CONFEDERACY.

REPRESENTING THE VIEWS AND OPINIONS WHICH PREVAILED, AND THE CONDITION OF THINGS WHICH EXISTED AT THE TIME OF EACH DAY'S ENTRY, IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES OR IN PORTIONS OF THEM.—BY THE EDITOR.

This Journal was not commenced until April, 1862, and thus a very interesting and instructive year is necessarily omitted. A condensed statement of events will however be presented prior to its opening, and in this, and in future numbers of the REVIEW for the next two years the journal will be given complete, together with very full notes and extracts from the leading newspapers of the South, upon all subjects which would be likely in the most interesting degree to illustrate the text. Several large volumes of clippings were made at the time and are fortunately preserved by us.

1860. NOVEMBER (6,) Lincoln elected President of the United States on a clearly recognized abolition platform, supported by nearly the entire Northern, and by no part of the Southern vote. (8,) Flag of Independence unfurled at Charleston—great excitement among the citizens; federal court resigns. (17,) Authorities of South Carolina ask for the possession of the forts.

DECEMBER (20,) South Carolina Convention passes the ordinance of secession and declares the State an independent Republic. (26,) Major Anderson dismantles and evacuates in the night fort Moultrie, and takes position at fort Sumter, (27,) South Carolina troops take possession of forts Moultrie and Pinkney. (29,) Floyd, Secretary of War, resigns; President Buchanan sustains Major Anderson.

1861. JANUARY (2,) President refuses to receive the South Carolina Commissioners officially. (3,) Fort Pulaski taken by Savannah troops; Star of the West at Charleston fired into when about to reinforce fort Sumter; Virginia invites Peace Conference; Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana secede from the Union, in the order named; Alabama troops take the arsenal there, and fort Morgan; Louisiana troops occupy forts Jackson and St. Philip, etc. Troops of Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida, take Florida forts and navy yard.

FEBRUARY. Arsenal seized at Little Rock; public property transferred by Twigg in Texas to the State authorities. Jeff. Davis inaugurated President of the Confederate States by Congress at Montgomery. Provisional Constitution adopted by Seven States. Texas secedes and is admitted into the Confederacy. People of the Seven States ratify the Provisional Constitution.

MARCH. General Beauregard takes command of the army near Charleston and makes active preparation for the defence of the harbor and the siege of fort Sumter, should it become necessary. Southern Congress in constant session with closed doors, organizing the government and legislating for the new state of things. Lincoln reaches Washington in disguise and is inaugurated, and lays down a line of policy which, if adhered to, must lead to war. He temporizes with, and at last dismisses Southern Commissioners. Peace Conference in Washington proves a failure. Great excitement North and South in anticipation of hostilities. The South having done everything to prevent, is not unprepared to meet them. Sends Commissioners abroad for recognition.

APRIL (12, 13,) Battle of fort Sumter. After thirty-nine hours bombardment the fort surrenders to Confederate troops under Beauregard without loss of life on either side. Lincoln makes proclamation for 75,000 volunteers to put down the Southern rebellion. North Carolina forts are seized by State troops. Northern troops passing through Baltimore are shot down, and the people tear up the railroad tracks; Federal army captured in Texas and posts given up. Virginia secedes; Federals attempt the destruction of Norfolk navy yard and Harpers Ferry. They are occupied at once by Virginia troops. Arkansas troops capture fort Smith; Tennessee secedes.

MAY. Federal troops under Butler occupy Baltimore; people of St. Louis fired upon by Northern troops; citizens butchered in cold blood; blockade of Charleston harbor commenced; unsuccessful attempt on Sewells Point batteries in Virginia; Alexandria, Virginia, occupied by Federal troops and Col. Ellsworth killed by Jackson; New Orleans and Mobile blockaded; Arkansas and North Carolina secede; seat of Government removed to Richmond; First battle on Southern soil, after fort Sumter, is fought by Virginia cavalry at Fairfax Court House.

JUNE. Engagement with Federal fleet, by Aquia Creek batteries; battle of Phillippi, in Western Virginia, in which Federals are successful; success of Confederates at Pigs Point; battle of Great Bethel, in which Magruder repulses four times his number and gains a great victory for the Confederates; Jackson of Missouri, calls the State troops to arms; enemy routed at Vienna, Virginia; routed and badly beaten near Leesburg; battle in Kansas; battles of Boonville and New Creek; Ashby's cavalry succeed at Romney; steamer St. Nicholas seized by Captain Thomas and others, and taken as a prize into Fredericksburg.

JULY. Gen. Patterson crosses a Federal army over the Potomac; skirmishes at Haynesville and near Newport News; battle of Carthage, Missouri, in which, Federals are badly beaten by Governor Jackson; battle at Rich Mountain and St. George, Virginia, and defeat of Confederates by McClellan; Garnett killed; battle of Searcy Creek, Virginia, in which Confederates defeat many times their number and take several Colonels prisoners; Federal army driven back with heavy loss from Bull Run. (21.) Great battle of Manassas, in which 27,000 Confederates under Beauregard and Johnston, defeat 55,000 Federals under McDowell. The enemy fly panic-stricken to Washington; Confederate loss 1,600; Federal, in killed, wounded and prisoners, estimated at 15,000; Federals defeated by Taylor in Arizona.

AUGUST. Hampton, Virginia, burned by order of General Magruder; great victory by McCullough at Oak Hill, Missouri, in which the Federals are routed with loss of their General, and great slaughter; fight at Hawks Nest, Virginia; Beauregard advances on the Potomac; fight at Baileys Cross Roads; Floyd whips the enemy at Cross Lanes, Virginia; Confederate intrenchments with garrison at Cape Hatteras, taken by the Federal fleet, under General Butler.

SEPTEMBER. Fremont in Missouri, confiscates the slaves of rebels; Federal advance into Kentucky; General Pillow occupies Columbus, Kentucky, and General Johnson, Bowling Green; Federals under Rosencranz in great strength, fail to carry Floyd's position on the Gauley; masterly retreat of Floyd; battle of Lewinsville, on the Potomac, and of Stony Creek on the Kanawha; Zollicoffer routes the enemy at Barboursville, Kentucky; Price at Lexington, Missouri, achieves a glorious victory, taking 3,500 prisoners and an immense amount of arms, horses, provisions munitions of war and money, with the seal and public records of the State; skirmishing at Sewells Mountain, Virginia.

OCTOBER. Battle of Greenbriar, Virginia, in which General Henry Jackson with 1,500 Confederates, forces 3,000 Federals to retire; Rosencranz retreats from Sewells Mountain; battle of Santa Rosa Island, in which the Federals are badly whipped; Commodore Hollins with the ram Manasses, causes the stampede of blockading fleet at the mouth of the Mississippi river; Ashby routes Federals near Harpers Ferry; fight at Fredericktown Missouri; victory at Leesburg, in which Evans with 1,500 troops defeats 7,000 Federals under Baker who is killed; Missouri admitted into Confederacy; General Scott resigns command of the Federal army and is succeeded by McClellan.

NOVEMBER. Enemy's great armada carry the Sand forts on South Carolina coast; they are evacuated with small loss and 12,000 Federal troops take possession; East Tennesseeans burn railroad bridges; enemy repulsed at Picketon, Kentucky; Mason and Slidell, Confederate States Commissioners to Europe, are seized on the English steamer Trent, by Commodore Wilkes, of the United States navy; Clarkson takes Guyandotte, Virginia; Floyd retreats; Federal troops occupy Eastern shore of Virginia; Virginia cavalry under Colonel Lee, rout the enemy at Falls Church; two days' engagement at Pensacola, in which, Federal vessels are driven off badly worsted; occupation of Tybee Island; Ramsons North Carolina cavalry whip the enemy near Vienna.

DECEMBER. Stuart forced to retreat near Dranesville in presence of superior numbers; great fire at Charleston, South Carolina, which causes much distress; Colonel Edward Johnson repulses a vastly superior force of the enemy near the Alleghany, in Western Virginia; Hindman's victory at Woodsonville, Virginia; Mason and Slidell surrendered up, on demand of England; battle in the Indian territory.

A recapitulation which has been made for 1861, gives fifty-two Confederate and eight Federal successes, and an approximate of losses assigns to the Federals 4,911 killed, 7,821 wounded, 8,177 prisoners, total, 20,909 and to the Confederates 1,135 killed, 3,345 wounded, 1,487 prisoners, total, 5,967. This is not very far from the truth. The loss from diseases on both sides was many times greater.

1862. JANUARY. General Sidney Johnston calls for 30,000 troops to sustain the Confederate movement from Kentucky; Burnside expedition of over 100 vessels, sails from Hampton Roads and is much worsted by storms; Confederate

forces at Fishing Creek, Kentucky, under Crittenden are overwhelmed and much cut up, with loss of the gallant Zollicoffer.

FEBRUARY. Burnside's fleet and forces after a short struggle capture Roanoke Island, North Carolina, and the garrison of 3,000 men; Government much censured; forts Henry and Donaldson and nearly the entire army of Floyd, Pillow and Buckner, after a heroic struggle of several days, surrender to enemy's gunboats and overwhelming numbers; Johnson hastily evacuates Bowling Green, Kentucky, and leaving Nashville to the enemy, falls back upon Murfreesboro, his only recourse after the disasters on the Tennessee and Cumberland; President Davis on the 22d inaugurated President of the Confederate States for six years; Buell's army take possession of Nashville.

MARCH. Startling exploit of the Merrimac (Virginia,) on the Chesapeake bay, in which she sinks or burns United States ships Cumberland, Congress, several gunboats, etc., with great loss of life on the side of the enemy; Congress requires the military to burn all cotton exposed to the enemy and authorizes planters to do so, declaring that all sufferers shall be reimbursed out of sequestered property; Martial law declared in New Orleans, Memphis, etc.; Confederate army evacuates Manassas, as not adapted to check advances from the Chesapeake and Potomac and takes position on the Rappahannock in the direction of Richmond; immense efforts to reinforce the army of Beauregard and Johnson in the West; planters advised by Congress to substitute provisions in lieu of cotton, as the crop of the coming year.

SUNDAY, April 6.—**NEW ORLEANS.**—Dr. Palmer, who has been almost the Peter the Hermit of the great crusade on which we have entered, discourses to-day upon the seemingly drooping fortunes of the Confederacy, and is listened to with breathless interest. With the inspiration of his theme, and the natural eloquence and fire which are his, he tells his audience that God is about to show them the way out of the wilderness, and calls their attention to the sermon, which, on the great day of Manassas, he had preached before them, and in which, under the control of feelings for which he could not account, he had foreshadowed the glorious results which were being achieved far away upon the Potomac. The same ardor was upon him now. In spite of the darkness and gloom which are around us, we seem to hail it as a bright harbinger of events upon the Tennessee, which almost involve the fate of a nation. Late at night, a telegram reaches the St. Charles Hotel, and is read by one of General Lovell's aids, to the effect that we have won a glorious victory near Corinth, and that the army of the enemy will be captured or annihilated. The news is received with shouts, which seem to shake the great walls of the edifice, and men, and women too, shake hands, and almost embrace over the glorious tidings. The despatch is read over and over with increasing enthusiasm.

MONDAY MORNING.—General rejoicing throughout New Orleans. The desponding look up. The sanguine see no bounds to the results of our victory. Tennessee is open to us, Nashville regained. Our forces have the way opened to the Ohio and beyond. Later in the day some doubts are thrown out as to the extent of the victory, and of the enemy's forces engaged. Beauregard calls it the battle of Shiloh. He telegraphs:

BATTLE FIELD, April 6.—Dear Brother: We have won a glorious victory. I am unhurt.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

TUESDAY.—In the dust again. The erect countenances of yesterday disappear from the streets. A line from the Secretary of War cruelly mars our rejoicings and our hopes. The enemy has rallied and united his wings. The contest has been renewed, and the result is doubtful. Finally, Beauregard telegraphs that he has fallen back to his original position. Do these things mean defeat after all?

It is eleven P. M., and an extra from the *Delta* dissipates the gloom and darkness which are upon the city. *We did not retire defeated.* The dispatch reads:

The Confederate victory is complete.
Yesterday was a more glorious day than Sunday.

We killed, captured and wounded from 10,000 to 20,000 of the Federals.

We drove the enemy across the river.

It is believed that his gunboats cannot get down the river, on account of the low stage of water.

WEDNESDAY.—The remains of Gen. A. Sidney Johnston are brought to New Orleans, and are escorted by a grand military procession to the City Hall, where they are laid out in state.

THURSDAY.—Nothing more from Corinth, except the number of our prisoners taken is between 3,000 and 4,000, and perhaps more. Several of the enemy's gunboats are reported as below Island No. 10, on the Mississippi, having passed our works in the night. There are rumors that the island has been abandoned or surrendered. The universal opinion is that it will prove untenable. Fort Pillow will be our main defense above, and that is said to be of great strength and nearly completed. If we can have a few weeks more for preparation, New Orleans will be secure from assaults from above or below. The floating battery, which we visit to-day, is on the eve of completion, and can be made available at any moment. It is clad heavily with iron and mounts many very heavy guns.

FRIDAY.—The news is that Fort Pulaski, which protects the approaches to Savannah, is undergoing a furious assault from the Yankee fleet. It is a strong work, and it is believed can hold out for several months.

SATURDAY.—There is now no longer doubt, though the military authorities suppress the information, that Island No. 10, a strong fortification defending the upper Mississippi, and upon which great expectations have been placed, has been captured, and the entire garrison, guns, stores, etc., are in the possession of the enemy.

SUNDAY, April 13.—News of the surrender of Fort Pulaski, which leaves Savannah greatly exposed. If the enemy pushes his advantages, the worst may be expected. Every day teaches more and more that the coast cannot be successfully defended, and that men and means are wasted in the effort. Southern independence must be won by the armies of the interior.

The enemy has advanced upon Huntsville and Decatur, and captured the bridge over the Tennessee, which he will undoubtedly destroy. This is a serious blow.

Telegram from the mouth of the Mississippi announces a brush between the Forts and the enemy. We may expect his great demonstration soon.

Gen. Gladden, one of the wounded at Shiloh, is dead.

MONDAY.—Gen. Beauregard has issued an address to the army announcing the death of Gen. A. Sidney Johnston.

SOLDIERS: Your late Commander-in-Chief, Gen. A. S. Johnston, is dead! A fearless soldier, a sagacious captain, a reproachless man, has fallen. One who, in his devotion to our cause, shrank from no sacrifice; one who, animated by a sense of duty, and sustained by a sublime courage, challenged danger, and perished gallantly for his country whilst leading forward his brave columns to victory. His signal example of heroism and patriotism, if imitated, would make his army invincible.

A grateful country will mourn his loss, revere his name, and cherish his many virtues.

G. T. BEAUREGARD, General Commanding.

TUESDAY.—Wounded soldiers, whom we meet to-day from the recent battlefield, estimate our killed and wounded at eight or ten thousand. Nine out of ten of the wounds, however, are slight. The enemy's loss will be greater.

WEDNESDAY.—Northern accounts claim the victory at Shiloh, but admit a frightful loss, 15,000 to 20,000, including some of their generals. As usual, they greatly exaggerate the Confederate numbers and diminish their own. We may never know the facts. Great disaffection towards the Federals is reported in Kentucky. Congress passes the Conscription Act, which, if fully carried out, will give the Confederacy an army of seven or eight hundred thousand. The measure is a wise one, and in good time.

THURSDAY, April 17.—An action took place yesterday on the Peninsula of Virginia. The enemy attempted to force our position, but were repulsed. We lost 20 killed and 75 wounded.

Gen. Beauregard has issued an address to the army of the Mississippi.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI: You have bravely fought the invaders of your soil for two days in his own position. You have fought your superior in numbers, in arms, in all the appliances of war. Your success has been signal; his losses have been immense, outnumbering yours in all save the personal worth of the slain. You drove him from his camp to the shelter of his iron-clad gunboats, which alone saved him from complete disaster. You captured his artillery, more than twenty-five flags and standards, his tents, and over three thousand prisoners. You have done your duty. Your commanding general thanks you; your countrymen are proud of your deeds on the bloody field of Shiloh, confident in the ultimate results of your valor.

Soldiers! untoward events saved the enemy from annihilation. His insolent presence still pollutes your soil. His hostile flag flaunts before you. There can be no peace as long as these things are. Trusting that God is with us as with our fathers, let us seek to be worthy of His favor, and resolve to be independent, or perish in the struggle.

G. T. BEAUREGARD, General Commanding.

The enemy shelled our forts yesterday at the mouth of the river, but without damage.

FRIDAY.—Bombardment of the forts continued during the day, and thousands of shells are thrown without effect. The enemy on the other hand are damaged by our fire, but the particulars are not known. The enemy are reported as demoralized by their recent defeat on the Tennessee. The attack on Fort Macon, N. C., is vigorously waged by him, and he has driven our troops beyond the Rappahannock, and is in possession of Fredericksburg. Stonewall Jackson has been compelled again to retire with loss, in the presence of overwhelming numbers, and is *en route* for Staunton. General Price, the hero of Missouri, has published an address to his army:

SOLDIERS OF THE STATE GUARD! Veterans of six pitched battles and nearly twenty skirmishes! Conquerors in them all! Your country, with its "ruined hearths and shrines," calls upon you to rally once more in her defense, and rescue her forever from the terrible thralldom which threatens her. I know that she will not call in vain. The insolent and barbarous hordes which have dared to invade our soil and to desecrate our homes, have just met with a signal overthrow beyond the Mississippi. Now is the time to end this unhappy war. If every man will do his duty, his own roof will shelter him in peace from the storms of the coming winter.

Let not history record that the men who bore with patience the privations of Cowskin prairie, who endured uncomplainingly the burning heats of a Missouri summer, and the frosts and snows of a Missouri winter; that the men who met the enemy at Carthage, at Oak Hill, at Fort Scott, at Lexington, and in numberless lesser battle fields in Missouri, and met them but to conquer them—that the men who fought so bravely and so well at Elkhorn—that the unpaid soldiery of Missouri, were, after so many victories, and after so much suffering, unequal to the great task of achieving the independence of their magnificent State.

Soldiers! I go but to mark a pathway to our homes. Follow me! **STERLING PRICE.**

SATURDAY.—The address of the Immortal Johnston, on the eve of the great battle of Shiloh, omitted in the appropriate place, may be inserted here:

CORINTH, MISS., April 3, 1862.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI: I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country. With the resolution and disciplined valor becoming fighting men as you are for all worth living or dying for, you can but march to a decisive victory over the agrarian mercenaries sent to subjugate and despoil you of your liberties, property and honor. Remember the precious stake involved; remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters and your children on the result; remember the fair, broad, abounding land, the happy homes and ties that would be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and the hopes of eight millions of people rest upon you; you are expected to show yourselves worthy of your race and lineage—worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded at any time. With such incentives to brave deeds, and with the trust that God is with us, your generals will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success.

A. S. JOHNSTON, General C. S. A.

Stonewall Jackson appeals for support in defending the beautiful valley of Virginia.

Our brethren in the Northern frontier counties are now groaning under the heel of despotism, their property torn from them without compensation, their rights as

citizens of Virginia and of our Confederacy disregarded, their persons levied, and without the form of law, both imprisoned and carried beyond the limits of the State. They look to you for liberation from the tyrant's grasp. Come with the firm and patriotic resolve to lay down your lives, if need be, on the soil of your birth, to emancipate it and our loyal citizens from Northern thralldom.

A brave army is here waiting for you to rally around it, and swell its ranks with volunteers determined to serve for the war, and drive back an enemy who has dared to invade your homes for the purpose of subjugating not only yourselves, but your wives and children. Show the invader that you know how to die, but not be enslaved.

T. J. JACKSON, Major General.

SUNDAY, April 20.—At Jackson, Miss., on business for the Government. The war has made large inroads upon the male population. There are some refugees here from Missouri and Tennessee. Col. Starke's cavalry regiment is encamped here. The several railroad connections make Jackson an important point in travel, particularly since the enemy have interrupted the Memphis road, and thrown the travel through Mobile and Montgomery. Two hospitals for sick and wounded soldiers are established by the ladies.

News from New Orleans, that the fleet has thrown many thousand shells at the forts without damage, except to some of the wood-work, which does not impair the strength of the fortification.

MONDAY.—Nothing additional from New Orleans. President Davis sends a special message to Congress, in which he offers heartfelt tribute to the services and memory of the lamented Johnston:

"My long and close friendship with this departed chieftain and patriot, forbid me to trust myself in giving vent to the feelings which this sad intelligence has evoked. Without doing injustice to the living, it may safely be asserted that our loss is irreparable, and that among the shining hosts of the great and good who now cluster around the banner of our country, there exists no purer spirit, no more heroic soul than that of the illustrious man whose death I join you in lamenting.

"In his death he has illustrated the character for which through life he was conspicuous, that of singleness of purpose and devotion to duty. With his whole energies bent on attaining the victory which he deemed essential to his country's cause, he rode on to the accomplishment of his object, forgetful of self, while his very life-blood was fast ebbing away. His last breath cheered his comrades to victory. The last sound he heard was their shout of triumph. His last thought, was his country, and long and deeply will his country mourn his loss."

Visit the hospitals, which are splendid structures and are admirably managed. Many army patients are under treatment, including the wounded from Shiloh. These hospitals, on a pinch, could accommodate 5 or 600, or even more. Vicksburg has acted with great spirit and liberality, and her ladies are foremost in the work.

Martial law is proclaimed and order reigns in the city.

Gen. Duncan, commanding at the forts below New Orleans, telegraphs: "God is certainly protecting us; we are cheerful, and have an abiding faith in our ultimate success. Twenty-five thousand thirteen-inch shells have been fired by the enemy, thousands of which have fallen in the fort. They must soon exhaust themselves—if not, we can stand it as long as they can."

There are no defences at Vicksburg, and if the enemy reaches here *immediately*, he cannot be resisted.

THURSDAY.—Telegram that some of the Federal gunboats have passed our forts, creates the most profound impression, and gives rise to a thousand rumors in regard to the fate of New Orleans.

FRIDAY.—Great excitement everywhere, and, of course, the most exaggerated rumors. It is yet uncertain if the enemy's vessels have reached New Orleans, and what reception they will meet with. A special train reaches Jackson this afternoon with the specie of the New Orleans banks. It is to be sent into the interior.

SATURDAY.—Converse with persons just from New Orleans, who left yesterday. Our gunboats have engaged the enemy and been destroyed. The forts still hold out. It is reported on high authority that the Federal ships are at the city, and that commanding General Lovell refuses to surrender, but will consent to capitulate. Decision not reached. Some indication that the vessels may be boarded and captured at the levee.

Even with the loss of New Orleans and of the entire river, and all upon it, the cause of Southern independence will be very far from desperate, if our people are truly in earnest and will do their whole duty as men and patriots. A great interior army of half a million of men must yet be vanquished. It never can be.

An accident on the Mobile and Ohio railroad last night, killed or seriously injured many of our soldiers from South Carolina.

Later in the day it is confidently asserted in many quarters, that despatches have crossed the wires to the effect that the military authorities refuse to surrender the city, and that four days are allowed to remove the women and children, when a bloody and desperate struggle will take place.

With such an exhibit of spirit and daring, New Orleans will be retained, though in ruins.

SUNDAY.—The worst is realized. New Orleans is in the power, if not the possession of the enemy. His fleet is at the levee, and the military authorities have evacuated. The surrender will be made by the civil authorities. The forts, it is thought, still hold out, but cannot do so long. Our gunboats of every kind are destroyed by the enemy, or by ourselves. General Twiggs, and a number of others, reach Jackson from the city. They represent the utmost confusion prevailing—everything without a head. The archives and money of the Sub-Treasury are here, in charge of Mr. Guirot, who has taken an office in the State House. Our troops and the Commanding General will reach here soon. This is the darkest hour of our trials and our peril, but the path of duty is still clear.

Before evacuating, the troops destroyed the cotton at New Orleans, and brought off commissary, quartermaster and ordnance stores, but to what extent is unknown.

The general feeling is, that our cause in the Southwest has been disgracefully lost.

MONDAY.—Many fugitives from New Orleans reach Jackson. Communication is still kept open. Points have arisen with regard to the surrender of the city which exhibit the highest degree of patriotism on the part of the citizens and authorities. The following correspondence has taken place:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL, New Orleans, April 26, 1862.

FLAG OFFICER D. G. FARRAGUT, U. S. FLAG-SHIP HARTFORD:

Sir, in pursuance to a resolution which he thought proper to take, out of regard for the lives of the women and children who still crowd this great metropolis, General Lovell has evacuated with his troops, and restored back to me the administration of its government, custody and its honor. I, however, in concert with the city Fathers, considered the demand you made of me yesterday, of an unconditional surrender of the city, coupled with a requisition to hoist the flag of the United States on our public edifices, and to haul down the one that floats to the breeze from the dome of this Hall. It becomes my duty to transmit to you an answer which the universal sentiment of my constituency, no less than the promptings of my own heart, dictate to me on this sad and solemn occasion.

The city is without means of defense, and utterly destitute of force and material that might enable it to resist the overpowering armament displayed in sight of it. I am no military man, and possess no authority beyond the municipal laws of the city. It would be presumptuous for me to attempt to lead an army to the field if I had one at command, and I know still less how to surrender an undefended place held as this is, at the mercy of your guns' mouths and your mortars. To surrender such a place were an idle and unmeaning ceremony.

The city is yours by power—brutal force—not by any choice or consent of its inhabitants. It is for you to determine what will be the fate that awaits her. As to hoisting any flag other than the flag of our own adoption and allegiance, let me say to you, sir, that the man lives not in our midst whose hand and heart would not be palsied at the mere thought of such an act. Nor could I find, in my entire constituency, so wretched and desperate a renegade as would dare to profane with his hands the sacred emblem of our aspirations.

Sir, you have manifested sentiments which would become you, if engaged in a better cause than that to which you have devoted your sword. I doubt not but that they spring from a noble though deluded nature, and I know how to appreciate emo-

tions which inspired them. You will have a gallant people to administer during your occupation of the city—a people sensitive to all that can in the least affect dignity and self-respect. Pray, sir, do not allow them to be insulted by any interference such as would render themselves odious and contemptible by their dastardly desertion of the mighty struggle in which we are engaged; nor such as might remind them too painfully that they are the conquered and you the conquerors. Peace and order may be preserved without resort to measures which could not fail to wound their susceptibilities and fire up their passions.

The obligations which I shall assume in their name shall be religiously complied with. You may trust their honor, though you ought not to count on their submission to unmerited wrong.

In conclusion, I beg you to understand the people of New Orleans. While unable at this moment to prevent your occupying the city, they do not transfer allegiance from the government of their choice to one which they deliberately repudiated; and that they yield simply obedience which conquerors are enabled to extort from the conquered.

Respectfully, JOHN T. MONROE, Mayor.

TUESDAY.—The fugitives still arrive, crowding every nook and corner of Jackson, and much distress results. Women and children are almost without place of refuge. The hotels are crowded beyond their capacity, and many sleep in the halls and piazzas.

WEDNESDAY.—Rumors of a great battle at Yorktown, and a glorious success for our arms, but they are not credited. A despatch to Governor Pettus from General Lovell, announces that on account of a *mutiny* in the garrison, the forts at New Orleans have surrendered. The enemy has now every obstruction removed to his triumphant advances on the Mississippi and its tributaries. The hour grows darker and darker.

THURSDAY.—Trains still arrive from New Orleans. The civil authorities refuse to strike their flag, but require the enemy to do it. Their attitude is high and chivalrous. The ladies request the authorities to hold out, and let the enemy shell and destroy the city. The following demand was made on Tuesday:

TO HIS HONOR THE MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS:

Your communication of the 28th inst. has been received, together with that of the City Council.

I deeply regret to see both by their contents, and the continued display of the flag of Louisiana on the Custom House, a determination on the part of the city authorities not to haul it down. Moreover, when my officers and men were sent on shore to communicate with the authorities, and to hoist the United States flag on the Custom House, with the strictest order not to use their arms unless assailed, they were insulted in the grossest manner, and the flag which had been hoisted by my orders on the Mint, was pulled down and dragged through the streets.

All of which go to show that the fire of this fleet may be drawn upon the city at any moment, and in such an event the levee would in all probability be cut by the shells, and an amount of distress ensue to the innocent population, which I have heretofore endeavored to assure you that I desired by all means to avoid.

The election, therefore is with you. But it becomes my duty to notify you to remove the women and children from the city within forty-eight hours, if I have rightly understood your determination. Very respectfully your obedient servant,

D. G. FARRAGUT.

Flag Officer Western Gulf Blockading Squadron.

The Mayor convened the City Council, and we learn it was decided by them not to recede from their position, and the Louisiana flag still floats proudly to the breeze.

FRIDAY.—Preparations are being made to defend Vicksburg. Cannon are sent from Jackson and troops, and a large force is at work upon the fortifications above and below the city.

Some of the enemy's transports have reached New Orleans with troops.

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY.—Make the trip from Jackson, Miss., to Mobile. Trains crowded, and much irregularity and discomfort. Mobile much deserted, but not without hope. Enemy's fleet soon expected, but the city will make a vigorous defence. The people speak with great determination.

NOTES ON THE JOURNAL.

1.—The Provisional Government of the Confederate States was adopted 4th February, 1861, and a Constitution four days after. The following day Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens were elected President and Vice-President (unanimously). The President was inaugurated on the 18th February. The permanent Constitution was adopted 11th March, 1862, and the government under it was organized 22d February, 1862.

2.—SHILOH.—The following digested account of the battle of Shiloh was published in one of the records of the day:

"The Federal army, commanded by Gen. McDowell, according to best informed Lincolnite journals, was 55,000 strong, and had 119 pieces of cannon. The Confederate army, under command of Gens. J. E. Johnston and Beauregard, was about 28,000 strong, and had 50 pieces of cannon. The battle commenced soon after sunrise, and raged until nearly 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Federals, defeated at all points and panic stricken, fled from the field in the utmost disorder, in all available directions, closely pursued by the victorious Confederates. The vaunted 'On to Richmond' movement was changed into a general and unglorious route. 'The admirable character of our troops,' General Johnston says, in his official report, 'is incontestably proved by the results of this battle; especially when it is remembered that little more than 6,000 men of the army of the Shenandoah, with 16 guns, and less than 2,000 of that of the Potomac, with 6 guns, for full five hours successfully resisted 35,000 United States troops, with a powerful artillery and a superior force of regular cavalry.' 'The brunt of this hard-fought engagement fell upon the troops who held their ground so long with such heroic resolution.' 'The victory,' says General Beauregard, 'was dearly won by the death of many officers and men of inestimable value, belonging to all grades of our society.' Among the Confederates killed were Generals Bee and Bartow. The Confederate loss, according to General Beauregard's report, was—killed 369; wounded 1,483; making an aggregate of 1,852. The Federal loss cannot be accurately stated. Their official reports only afford data for an approximate estimate. General Beauregard says, in his report: 'We are warranted in placing the entire loss of the Federals at over 4,500 killed, wounded and prisoners. To this may be legitimately added, as a casualty of the battle, the thousands of fugitives from the field who have never rejoined their regiments, and who are as much lost to the enemy's service as if slain or disabled by wounds.' In addition, the Confederates captured on the field and in the pursuit, 28 pieces of cannon, about 5,000 muskets, nearly 500,000 cartridges, a garrison flag, 10 colors, 64 artillery horses, with their harness, 26 wagons, much camp equipage, and a great quantity of clothing, blankets, knapsacks, subsistence stores, &c. President Davis arrived on the field of battle in time to witness the final recoil of the enemy."

The Hon. Alexander Walker, of New Orleans, who was an eye witness of this battle, wrote a very graphic account of it, which was published soon after. Referring to the great event of the day, which almost neutralized the victory. the death of the incomparable Sydney Johnston, he says:

"Seeing the inability of the other commanders to reform the broken and dismayed line, he rode forward, with the ever cool and undaunted Breckinridge, and, seizing a musket, presented it at a charge bayonet, and called on the men to follow. The grand figure of the Commander-in-chief, mounted on a large bay horse, looming up from the foreground (so conspicuous a target for the enemy's sharpshooters), seemed to expand to gigantic proportions, as he beckoned his men on to the charge. The gallant Kentuckians were the first to follow—Tennesseans, Mississippians and Arkansians caught the heroic contagion, and now the line moved steadily forward at double-quick, and then, with a wild rush, receiving the deadly iron blast as it swept along the slopes, and pouring over the batteries, they scattered the heavy masses of the infantry in the wildest confusion. This was perhaps the mightiest effort of physical force and courage of the day, and when it was performed, the tall figure of Breckinridge could be seen on the crest of the hill, waving his cap in triumph, while the shouts of his men echoed far off like the roar of many waters. As soon as General Johnston perceived the success of his appeal, and that his men had caught the spirit which he had sought to infuse into them, and were moving forward with the requisite vigor and resolution, he rode from the front, and returned to his original commanding position, a little in the rear and on the right, and waited the result of the assault. It was only when its success was evident and the enemy

was in retreat, that one of his aids, perceiving blood on his clothes, anxiously asked if he was wounded. He replied, 'Only a scratch!' adding in entire unconsciousness of self, 'Was not that splendidly done; glorious fellows; we have got them now.' There was a pause and a few minutes of observation and consultation, when evident symptoms of weakness manifesting themselves, the aids of the General insisted that he should dismount and have his wound examined. He did so in a careless and unconcerned manner. His boot being pulled off, it was discovered to be full of blood, and that the purple current was still flowing rapidly from a small wound under the knee. It proved, on examination, to be what Dr. Choppin pronounced the smallest wound that he ever knew to produce death in a hale and vigorous man. But an artery had been severed."

3.—NEW ORLEANS.—The fall of New Orleans produced a feeling of despondency in the Confederacy, which existed for many months after the event. It was regarded the key to the Valley of the Mississippi, and its possession of almost vital consequence in enabling us to preserve our hold upon the trans-Mississippi, and obtain its vast supplies of grain and meat necessary to the support of the army. It is evident that a point of such importance should have been defended with all the engineering and military resources of the country. People everywhere thought so, and were convinced that the administration was alive to the matter. Our papers contained accounts of the wonderful preparations which were in progress; the range of forts at every few miles, the impassable rafts, the vast chains, the combinations of a thousand kinds, which no enemy could resist. Even citizens of New Orleans believed their stories, and the enemy, deluded by them, delayed his attack for more than a year, thus adding precious time for preparation. Alas the event! Never, in the history of the world, was such a point so ingloriously yielded. A few days bombardment of two forts a hundred miles distant, which are not substantially injured, and in which scarcely any lives are lost, and a triumphant fleet steams quietly up to the city, with a trifling exception, *as though in time of profound peace.* The world was amazed at the event!

The writer was in New Orleans for three or four months preceding its fall, except for the last week, in which he was engaged in the service of the government in Mississippi, and can bear testimony to the want of vigorous and energetic measures for its defence. The construction of rams and gunboats went on with snail's pace, and was interrupted by what seemed the most trifling causes. Troops necessary to the defence of the place were withdrawn and not returned. The military authorities were reticent, and the reports from Richmond were that the Secretary of War laughed at any apprehensions, and asserted confidently that no fleet in the world could pass the forts and reach the city! The general in command was greatly censured, but we have understood that he has exhibited to certain gentlemen his defence, in manuscript, which is masterly. Time will show.

During the period referred to, the citizens of New Orleans formed a "Committee of Public Safety," which meetings we attended, and there was but one voice, and that was for the defence of the city to the last extremity, and the Committee, as well as the Council, pledged its whole resources for the purpose. At one of these meetings it was suggested by a gentleman, and loudly applauded, that, rather than submit to capture, the city be burnt as Moscow had been by its citizens!

Never was there such unanimity of sentiment among any people, and men and women, and even children, partook of the enthusiasm. The last thought that would have entered any mind was surrender, and the possibility of it was not admitted almost up to the very day it occurred.

And yet New Orleans fell, and so prostrate was the country, and so inadequate the preparations, that had the enemy elected to do so, he might, the day after, have ascended the river and taken almost undisputed possession of its banks, as high nearly as the city of Memphis!

It was among the first of the great disasters which ended in the downfall of the Confederacy after it had performed miracles of valor and endured privations for which history has scarcely a parallel.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—THE COTTON PROSPECT AT THE SOUTH.

C. F. JENNY, consular agent of Italy, issued a circular recently to all parts of Texas, for the purpose of eliciting information in regard to the working of the labor system and the future prospect of cotton.

We have had the pleasure of a call from Mr. Jenny, who placed in our hands a number of the replies, which will be published hereafter. We can only present his circular letter now, which is very closely based upon the replies:

GALVESTON, April 15, 1866.

Referring to my circular of January 27th and March 1st, I am sorry to say that my opinion on the labor question has not changed for the better. I already foresee many more difficulties for the realization of the next crop in Texas, though the reports of very extensive planting are fully confirmed, and a good deal of cotton growing is already up, owing to the very favorable spring.

I have diligently and assiduously inquired of planters and merchants in the country in regard to their views about the extent of our crop this season and the working of the negro.

The answers are all remarkably alike, hardly any dissent has come to my knowledge, and I should therefore judge that they can not be far from the truth.

Within a short time many planters have become entirely discouraged, have left their plantations and the work already begun, because they could well foresee that they could not control the labor, and, therefore, not certain of making a crop. I hear that quite a number from one neighborhood have left for Mexico. Others again are willing to make a trial, and seem to have good hopes to realize their expectations.

Serious apprehensions are more and more felt in regard to the question: Will the negro work when the warm weather sets in? His laziness is proverbial and well authenticated, therefore, these fears appear to me well founded. If now, after the dry weather we have had for a long time, the next months should be wet, and the cotton go into grass, I should not hesitate to say, that without the most strenuous efforts of the laboring hands, the crop would be an entire failure.

I have already made my remarks on the entire unwillingness of the women and children to work in the fields as before, and from every point, I am sorry to say, I have full confirmation of the correctness of my observation, in fact, this important part of our former labor force seems now altogether lost. It is now apparent that we will have scarcity of labor in our State too, and even the force we have is already interfered with by the unscrupulous competition for hands I hinted at in my circular of January 27, at that time only referring to known proceedings in other States than Texas.

The best reports we have in regard to the behaviour of the negro reach us from distant inland places, but our richest lands and best cultivated (from which formerly the bulk of the cotton crop of this State did come to market, are in great danger, all attributable to the demoralization of labor already felt), lay all in the neighborhood of the coast. Still taking all in all, we are better off in Texas than in any other State; our small farmers, principally Europeans, make every possible effort, and with good success so far as I can learn. Besides, many discharged soldiers have settled and gone in for making a few Bales of Cotton.

Estimates of the probable crop of our State are far apart, estimatists are speaking of about 50,000 bales, backing their different other arguments of short-work and abandoned lands, with the prophecy that the army-worm will again have his share of the crop, pretending that the very mild winter we have had, and the consequently early season, are the sure signs of the worm plague in summer. I should, however, not be surprised to see the above-mentioned amount come forward from small farmers only. The most sanguine estimates

go even so far as 200,000 bales for the Gulf ports, and 275,000 to 300,000 bales for all Texas, of which a large part is tributary to New Orleans.

Should even the latter figures be realized, the fact would be discouraging to our long crop men in itself, showing them that with about double the amount of the laboring force (as reported to exist in Texas) compared to that before the war, we can have but a crop considerably short in quantity compared with former results. In all other States the laboring force has decreased perhaps to one-half of former times. The consequences must therefore be clear to every thinking man.

I have repeatedly been asked to give an estimate of the cost of raising cotton this year; it is extremely difficult to form an opinion. I have made inquiries, but have had unsatisfactory answers. The estimates vary from 12c. currency to 20c. specie per pound on the plantation. Our small farmers, as they and their families all work, can raise cotton at but little higher cost than before the war, and they are nearly sure of a crop. Another thing it is with the planter, working negro hands, with him all depends on the faithful performance of the contracts made between him and his hands.

We have very different systems of contracts, viz: Some employers pay their hands from \$8 to \$14 specie per month, feed and clothe them, and naturally give them shelter.

Others give one-third of their crop, and furnish nothing but the teams, the agricultural implements necessary, and shelter. Plantations have been rented at from \$3 to \$8 per acre, and stocked plantations, with teams and implements, at from \$8 to \$12 per acre.

Taking into consideration the higher price of the hands, and the immense deficiency in the labor performed by them, further the probability, that in the picking season extra hands will have to be employed, if attainable, at extra wages. I think, not to be far from the mark, in putting down the first cost of cotton on the plantation at fully double the former figures, say 12c. & 14c. specie, always provided, that the present good prospects for the growing crop be realized and the latter be harvested.

I have heard of parties making advances to planters, payable in cotton, when grown, at 25c. specie per pound on the plantation. The price of 20c. specie, exclusive of revenue duty per pound, would appear the very lowest cost possible for cotton delivered on the coast, to remunerate the planter for his work.

We have now further to await the decision of our Congress regarding the tax to be hereafter levied on cotton. Already, in September last, I hinted at the probability of a heavy *export* duty to be put upon cotton. As such a step would embrace in its bearings an alteration of the constitution, the proposition now is to raise the internal revenue tax to 5c. per pound instead of 2c. per pound.

I shall continue my investigations, and shall be happy to communicate the result to you.

2.—SUGAR INTERESTS OF LOUISIANA.

A PETITION has been sent to Congress, signed by a large number of the most influential planters and merchants of Louisiana, praying as follows:

The petition of the subscribers respectfully represents, that the legitimate result of the unequal and crushing excise tax now collected on domestic cane-sugars, is *not* to secure revenue to the U. S. Government, *not* to afford the protecting care which Government owes to every important agricultural interest under its control, but to convert the sugar lands of Louisiana and Texas into a wilderness, to make the free labor experiment there a failure, and to reduce the laborers to beggary.

Wherefore, your petitioners earnestly pray, that domestic cane sweets be entirely relieved of this ruinous excise tax.

Should this be refused, we pray you to largely *increase* the import duty on foreign sugars and molasses, that in *some* manner this important agricultural interest may be protected rather than destroyed.

In regard to the question of negro labor for the sugar plantations, a writer in the *Franklin Banner* says:

The writer knows that negroes who were employed on both cotton and sugar plantations preferred making sugar. The fact was made manifest in this way—he owned a plantation that had been for several years planted in cotton, and afterwards changed to a sugar plantation; one season, finding that the overseer had neglected to put up enough seed-cane, he ordered cotton to be planted when the old and most intelligent negroes came to him and begged him not to make it a cotton plantation again, that they preferred to make sugar. It seemed so extraordinary that they should prefer a crop in which they would have to work eighteen hours in the twenty-four, for two months in the year, that he mentioned it to several friends who had some experience in the matter, and they confirmed the fact. People who know nothing of the reasons could not be made to believe it. After a further investigation, some of the reasons were discovered. The picking of cotton is a constant monotonous business, employing from three to four months of the year, while sugar making takes only about two months or less, and is like a frolic. The hands were singing all the time, were well fed and cared for, and had syrup and molasses to eat at discretion, and on many plantations had coffee to drink at the proper times; and the sugar-making season was generally, too the most delightful weather of the whole year, as good as could be wished.

3.—COTTON PRODUCT.

We have seen nothing yet to induce a change in our figures, materially in regard to the ensuing cotton crop. We assumed 1,500,000 bales, the results of calculation, to be the most probable result. It is scarcely possible that 2,000,000 can be made. Since our estimate, the crevasses on the Mississippi have done much damage, and the complaint is general from the whole planting district, of deterioration and want of vitality in the seed.

We extract the following account of the cane-brake region of Alabama, one of the most fertile and vast cotton fields in the South:

"It is probable that no section of country has suffered less from the disturbing influences of the war than the cane-brake region of South Alabama. At no time was it the scene of hostilities.

"Locked up between rivers, the negro population had but little communication with the outer world, and have less generally changed their locations than perhaps in any other section of the country. Provisions also are plentiful, and capital sufficient to furnish mules and farming implements for the whole breadth of arable land. Whatever observations may be made, therefore, in this section, must be considered as far above an average of the condition of the South. It is a region of unsurpassed fertility, and at any period before the war, must have produced one fourth of the cotton crop of Alabama. These few facts which follow, though not reduced to figures, will readily show what proportion of this product may be expected from the coming crop. But to the facts.

"The breadth of land in cultivation was estimated by those with whom we conversed, at about two-thirds of that usually planted before the war. This estimation was made by a gentleman residing in the best portion of the cane-brake—we mean in that portion which is best off as to the number of laborers. Nevertheless, we heard of entire plantations of very fine land lying out of cultivation.

"The number of black laborers has largely decreased on that of former years, while there has been considerable addition of white laborers drawn from other sections of the State where cotton was not usually grown. Most of the field labor is now performed by men, the women regarding it as the duty of their husbands to support them in idleness. These, with the children, constitute, however, a reserve force which may be profitably employed in picking-time.

"The prevailing feeling among the laborers seems to be one of contentment with their wages, and most of them are laboring industriously."

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The *New York Journal of Commerce* calls attention to the remarkable discrepancy between the reports of Mr. Chase and Mr. McCulloch of the Treasury Department.

By Mr. Chase's report, the exports for 1861 to 1864, exceeded the imports \$192,916,424, but by McCulloch's the imports were \$46,183,924 in excess. Subsequently it was stated that the excess for 1861 was \$86,305,240, instead of \$42,625,885 as at first reported. All of this is very remarkable and requires explanation.

The commerce of the last fiscal year is as follows:

FOREIGN IMPORTS AT THE PORTS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE YEAR ENDING
JUNE 30, 1865.

Dutiable merchandise.....	\$183,258,278
Free merchandise.....	43,856,155
Specie and bullion.....	7,225,377

Total imports for the year..... \$234,339,810

The above represents only the foreign cost of the goods in gold, without including any part of the freight and duty.

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FOREIGN PORTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING
JUNE 30, 1865.

Domestic produce.....	\$254,381,481
Foreign dutiable mdse..	\$23,455,837
Foreign free mdse.....	4,411,621
	27,867,458
Domestic specie and bullion.....	\$51,925,277
Foreign specie and bullion.....	2,522,907
	54,448,184

Total exports for the year..... \$336,697,123

The export figures (except for specie which is given at its tale value), represent the market value in the ordinary currency at the port of shipment, and are thus chiefly computed in paper money.

2.—FUTURE OF NEW ORLEANS.

The *Planters' Banner*, published at Franklin, Louisiana, thus discourses upon the subject of New Orleans:

From her location and position, sitting at the gate of the great valley of the Mississippi, New Orleans is the only city to be thought of in this connection. Already the West is turning to her wharves as the great natural market and point of export for her products. In ten or twenty years (a microscopic point of time in a nation's history,) railroads, converging at New Orleans will send out lines penetrating to the remotest bounds of this Southern country, even to the shores of the distant Pacific.

She will moor at her wharves, ships bearing the produce of every land, and whose sails have whitened every ocean. From every portion of the globe will come, seeking new homes, the laborer and mechanic; with them, and the invited capital of Europe, (now so poorly paid,) we will reproduce on our variegated soil the identical work, mechanical and agricultural, which celebrates any portion of the world. New Orleans is to be the great central point for this importation and distribution for all this centralization and exportation.

This is no fancy sketch. The grand future of the South, thus feebly hinted at, must be infinitely elaborated and colored, and not reach the whole truth. In view of it, is there no duty devolving upon Southern men? This future to the South is conditioned upon the exertions of her sons. Have they breathed out all their devotion to her on the battle-field? Do they owe her no further

duty? A large warfare demands their exertions to place the South upon a level which she shall be proud of.

We need home factories, home literature, home institutions of learning, which we must encourage, foster and support. But first and foremost, we want a home commerce, and direct trade with Europe. Let us foster and cherish this, and the rest will follow.

8.—COMMERCE OF THE GREAT WESTERN PLAINS.

The number of freighters engaged in transporting goods during the past year was greater than in any previous season, although, of course, the old firms did the larger part of the business. First on the list of heavy shippers is the mammoth Butterfield Overland Dispatch Company, whose business connections, extending to nearly every large city on the continent, are well defined and influential.

The total amount of goods shipped by these freighters during the season was 21,531,830 pounds of assorted merchandise, requiring for its shipment 4,917 wagons, 5,256 men, 7,164 mules, 27,685 oxen and 100 horses.

Of this amount of goods 7,102,000 lbs. was shipped to Denver, Colorado; 4,950,667 lbs to Central City and Black Hawk, Colorado; 2,715,282 to Salt Lake City, Utah; 1,482,123 to Santa Fe, New Mexico; 889,000 to Julesburg, Colorado; 600,000 to Fort Laramie, L. T.; 712,000 to Fort Riley, Kansas; 759,000 to Camp Collins; 303,500 to Fort Union, New Mexico; 412,000 to Virginia City, N. T.; 197,648 to Montana; 162,310 to different points in Nevada; 46,000 to Fort Kearney, N. T.; and 1,200,000 to different points in Western Kansas, Colorado, Utah and Idaho.

The capital invested in this great commerce is enormous. Oxen, mules and wagons have commanded unusually high prices during the past year. The cost of the wagons employed would average \$306 apiece; mules \$290; oxen \$160 per yoke; harness \$90 for each six mules. The time occupied by each train in loading and making the trip through and back, will average three months, and the wages of the men employed \$50 per month. To sum up the total capital invested this season would be about as follows:

The total value of 4,917 wagons, averaging \$300 each, would be.....	\$1,475,100
Value of 7,164 mules, averaged at \$400 per span would be.....	1,482,800
Value of 27,685 oxen, worth \$160 per yoke would be.....	2,214,800
Harness for 7,164 mules, worth \$90 for each six would be.....	107,450
Wages of 5,256 men, at \$50 per month averaging three months each trip.....	788,300
Estimated cost of provisions for employes.....	200,000
Estimated cost of ox-yokes, chains, etc.....	40,000

Showing a total capital invested of..... \$6,258,560

THE OVERLAND STAGE LINE.

The longest stage route in the world, forms another great feature in the business of Atchison. Its coaches leave here daily for Denver and Central City, Colorado, 653 miles; Great Salt Lake City, Utah, 1,255 miles, and Placerville, California, 1,913 miles. From Salt Lake, a branch line runs northward, traversing Northern Utah, Idaho and Montana Territories, reaching Bannock and Virginia cities. Another branch, 850 miles long, runs Northwest via Boise city, Idaho, to the Dalles Falls of the Columbia, the head of navigation on the river from the ocean. Between this city and Salt Lake, the company has 450 men, 1,200 horses and 180 coaches in its employ, while on all of its connections there are 825 men, 356 coaches and express wagons, and 8,530 horses and mules. The fare through from Atchison to Placerville is \$200. Railroad fare from New York to Atchison is \$41, and from Placerville to San Francisco \$10; thus mak-

ing the fare through from New York City to San Francisco \$251. The stations on the route are about thirteen miles apart, and meals average sixty cents. Passengers are allowed twenty-five pounds of baggage free. The coaches make the trip through from Atchison to Denver in four to six days; to Salt Lake in about eleven or twelve days, and to Placerville, California, in from seventeen to twenty days. Telegraph stations are established all along the line. The coaches carry the great overland mails, and are all new and commodious.

From Hugo Richards, Esq., the gentlemanly agent of the line in this city, we have obtained the above items. Mr. Richards also informs us, that during the past year the coaches carried 2,097 passengers West, and brought 2,281 from the West, making a total of 4,288. The aggregate price of passage was \$190 and the total amount received from this source \$814,720. The coaches during the year also brought in \$2,400,000 in specie, and carried 46,000 pounds of express freight. The coaches of this line run over the North Platte route.

4.—MEMPHIS—ITS COMMERCE AND PROSPECTS.

In the "old times" says a Memphis *exchange*, we are free to confess that Memphis, not being prepared to supply all demands, could not, probably, successfully compete with Eastern cities. But "*nous avons change tout cela*—a great change has been wrought in Memphis since the war. Before that era, the preponderance was with the retail houses. Now, the wholesale establishments exceed those devoted exclusively to customers by retail. Memphis, in short, has become a wholesale market, where everything the interior dealer may wish, may be obtained at as good a rate, and, everything considered, *better* rates than at New York, Philadelphia or Boston. For example—the country dealer wishes to lay in a stock of ten thousand dollars worth of goods suited to his particular locality. He can obtain them in Memphis at ten per cent. less than it would cost him to go to New York, or any of the eastern cities, to obtain them—that is to say, taking the prime cost, freight, insurance, personal expense, etc., the goods he will obtain in New York will cost ten per cent. more than he can obtain them in Memphis and lay them down at home. Another advantage to the country dealer which Memphis offers is, that his stocks can be replenished at shorter periods, and in smaller quantities, than by purchase in the Atlantic cities. In the present unstable and fluctuating price of goods, this is a great advantage.

5.—PITTSBURGH—ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

The ratio of production between this city, and other cities, States, and the United States, of some of the principal manufactures, gives Pittsburgh an extraordinary record. Our production of iron, compared with that of the whole country, is as one to nine. We produce one-half of all the steel manufactured and one-fifth of all the copper used in the country. The annual value of the glass trade of the city is understated, when given at seven millions of dollars, yielding an internal revenue to the Government of about \$350,000. That of the glass factories east of the mountains, it is stated at \$3,125,000, and as yielding an internal revenue of \$156,150. It is therefore apparent that glass manufacturing at Pittsburgh is in all things quite double that of the rest of the United States. We refine nine-tenths of all the oil that goes to foreign markets.

The quality of some of our manufactured products, says the *Oil News*, from which we are quoting, are such as no city, State or nation can rival. The best brands in the nail markets, everywhere, are the "Juniata," "Clinton," "Kensington" and "Eagle." The iron markets of the country put forward "Wayne," "Sable," "America," "Sligo," and "Duquesne." The favorite brands of glass, in all markets, is "O'Hara," "Arsenal" and "Phoenix." And in our home and foreign trade for refined oils, the call is for "Standard," "Soho," "Petrolite" and "Globe." The best qualities of manufactured steel in the country, bear the mark "Black Diamond," "Sheffield" and "Wayne."

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

How touching and beautiful the mode which, by common consent, has been adopted among us to set apart the 26th day of April (the anniversary of the surrender of our armies) to visit the graves, and pay honors to the memory of the noble army who died on the thousand battle-fields of the South. Ever forward in all good works, the women, in most of our towns and villages, decked the graves of the soldiers with beautiful flowers, and offered pious incense in their behalf. At Memphis, the ceremonies were imposing in the highest degree, and an eloquent address was delivered by Dr. Ford, who said:

"Standing here to-day amid their quiet resting-places, subdued and sorrowful, and feeling

'That mystery of woe the tongue can never speak,

we solemnly avow that with us the conflict is ended—we abide the issue. Besides our own loved dead, in these same solitudes repose the foemen who met them in the living strife. These, could they speak, would not be the men to insult the memories of those who so manfully encountered them on the bloody field. In the words of Scott:

The solemn echo seems to cry,
Here let their discord with them die:
Speak not for them a separate doom,
Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb.'

But if this be denied us; if the discord is still to live; if humiliation and punishment are to pursue us, we ask the poor privilege of cherishing the memory of our dead, and mingling our tears with the flowers we spread o'er their graves.

"On one of Switzerland's loveliest lakes, on an annual festive day, are seen a thousand light boats skimming the bright waters and landing at the consecrated spot where stands the chapel of William Tell. The day is spent in feasting with fresh flowers the broken column that perpetuates his memory and records his daring deeds. So let us come

annually here, and make this 26th of April our floral festival, to call up the memories of our brave Confederate dead, and wreath around their lowly graves flowers that shall syllable

'Regrets Eternal! Regrets Eternal!' and the memory of the loved braves shall never die."

The following are the names of the officers of the noble association which had in charge the *Southern Relief Fair* at Baltimore, from which such splendid results were realized. Truly does Baltimore deserve the recognition of her Southern sisters, and her commercial prosperity should be regarded as our own:

President—MRS. BENJ. C. HOWARD.

Secretary—MISS MARY E. FRICK.

Chairman—LAWRENCE SANGSTON.

Secretary of Managers—CHAS. E. WATERS.

We annex the Card recently issued by the lady managers:

A CARD.

The officers and Executive Committee of the Ladies' Southern Relief Association, having heretofore issued an appeal to the benevolent, feel it to be their pleasing duty now to communicate to their friends the result of the enterprise, far exceeding their most sanguine expectations. Already largely over one hundred thousand dollars have been received, besides some other sums have yet to come in.

They should do injustice to their feelings if they did not go on to acknowledge the exuberant kindness which has sprung up all around them. In the first place, they wish to express their cordial thanks to the Committee of gentlemen who, with the spirit of the chivalry of olden time, hastened to the assistance of ladies who wanted help, and whose ardent and persevering care enabled the lady managers to achieve a brilliant success. In the next place their thanks are due to the ladies who conducted the sale tables and other supplies, whose unwearied assiduity from morning till night and cheerful deportment, contributed very largely to the success of the enterprise.

In the next place, their thanks are due to the generous donors, whether in our own State or elsewhere, who loaded these tables with articles of great intrinsic value and refined taste. In this category must be included the many benefactors who contributed money, many of them from other States.

The lady managers also gratefully acknowledge the valuable assistance of artisans of taste, and those who furnished lumber; all of whom, gratuitously, fitted up all parts of the

immense hall for the various purposes for which it was destined. Passing to the lunch-room, it is difficult to say enough in commendation of the ladies who conducted it, or the warm-hearted contributors who furnished the tables with every luxury of the land or water. He must be a churl, indeed, who did not feel his heart warmed by the smiling countenances and ready hands which sprang forward to minister to his wants.

Passing from the hall, our attention is attracted by the great liberality of the lines of railroads and steamboats, which all reduced their rates of fare to suit the convenience of those who wished to attend the fair; and also the great generosity of the express companies, who conveyed all articles, sometimes bulky, to the fair free of expense. In this class must be included the handsome donation of five hundred dollars by the City Passenger Railway.

The generosity of the charitable has not been confined to our State; but valuable contributions have come in from other States, from Missouri to Massachusetts inclusive. From England, too, handsome sums have been remitted through the influence of Mr. James M. Mason, and since the fair closed, boxes of choice articles have been received through the exertions of the Hon. Anderson Herbert, who recently spent some time in Baltimore.

The lady managers present their cordial thanks to the Masonic Fraternity for their liberal permission to make use, gratuitously, of their rooms on Charles Street. They are informed (and they believe correctly) that benevolence to their fellow-creatures is the cornerstone of this ancient and venerable institution; and it is in fine harmony with this noble sentiment that they have stepped forward to aid the present charity.

Before concluding, the lady managers wish to express their entire satisfaction with the conduct of the police and other persons employed about the building. Such was their gentlemanly deportment that it was only necessary to intimate to visitors the rules which had been adopted in order to insure a cheerful and prompt acquiescence in their observance. Not a disagreeable case occurred during the entire exhibition.

Finally, the lady managers wish to say that their thanks to their generous contributors are of little account when compared with the sweet satisfaction which each one must feel when he reflects that suffering and starving women and children will utter a voice of thanks to their unknown friends; and it is not presumptuous to hope that these thanks will find their way to the great account which must be settled hereafter.

Mrs. BENJ. C. HOWARD, *President*.
MAE E. FRICK, *Secretary*.

We have received from a benevolent association of ladies in Clarksville, Tennessee, the circular of an organization for the protection, maintenance and education of the orphans of the Confederate dead of the South, which has just been put into existence in that city. Of this Society Mrs. Marion Henry, wife of the Hon. Gustavus A. Henry, is President, Mrs. Trice is Recording Secretary, Mrs. A. B. Mumford is Corresponding Secretary, and Mrs. E. B. Hoskins is Treasurer. The Vice-Presidents are Mrs. Finley, Mrs.

Tompkins, and Mrs. Galbraith. In addition to these the following list of directors is announced:

Mrs. W. A. Quarles, Mrs. W. Forbes, Mrs. E. M. Barker, Mrs. Cooke, Mrs. B. F. McKeage, Mrs. Hornberger, Mrs. W. T. Dortch, Mrs. Bailey, Mrs. John F. House, Mrs. Jane Bibb, Mrs. Henry Atkins, Mrs. Samuel Johnson, Mrs. Conroy, Mrs. Joshua A. Brown, Mrs. M. Broadus, Mrs. Thomas Munford, Mrs. T. W. King, Mrs. B. F. Coulter, Mrs. John Bailey, Mrs. Myles, Mrs. J. E. Rice, Mrs. Wm. Beaumont, Mrs. G. Brown, Mrs. G. S. Smith, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Hodgson.

The object of this charitable association is to erect an asylum near Clarksville for the parental guardianship of those unfortunate orphans of the South made hopelessly destitute by the casualties of our late unhappy civil strife.

We insert, with pleasure, the following circular from the ladies of Nashville, Tennessee, inaugurating another and noble charity:

NASHVILLE, April 19, 1866.

LADIES.—You will please permit me to call your attention to the organization and object of the Benevolent Society of Tennessee. There are many Confederate soldiers who have lost their limbs during the late war, whose unfortunate condition appeals to the benevolent sentiment of our State, and it only needs that this sentiment may be united in its effort to meet the demand made upon it. We therefore invite your assistance by organizing a Branch Society. It is deemed advisable that the different religious denominations shall be represented in your Board of Managers, and that your officers be a Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer. It is desired that you engage and have in regular rehearsal all the amateur talent within your reach, for a Concert and Tableaux. Mr. Green Morrom will travel through the State, and superintend these entertainments. Your Society will be expected to co-operate with and give him all the assistance he may require. The object of this noble work has been approved by Major-General Thomas. We are sure the appeal we make to the Christian benevolence of Tennessee will be cordially responded to. You will report to the State Society at your earliest convenience. Mrs. FELICIA G. PORTER, *Pres't*, 38 Cedar Street.

Mrs. THOMAS L. MARSHALL, *Secretary*.

It has been proposed in Mississippi, and we hope will be adopted throughout the South, to organize *Historical Societies* to preserve the memorials of the recent sanguinary struggle. The Governor of the State writes as follows upon the subject:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,

JACKSON, MISS., Feb. 9, 1866.

Col. J. L. Power, Supt. of Army Records:
SIR.—Your suggestion recommending Historical Societies in each county in the State must meet the cordial approbation of the people.

The actors in the great tragedy of the Revolution are fast passing away, and much valuable information must be lost by delay. One side of the story has been written—truth has been hushed by the dumb eloquence of num-

bers, and in the flush of success, the world's verdict is rendered against the South and her people. Through the labors of these Societies, durable records in the form of maps, charts and diagrams of the movements and counter movements of both armies—minute details of battles, skirmishes, robberies, conflagrations and vandalism—together with the heroic part acted by our brave people, will be transmitted to posterity, to whom we appeal for the vindication of the truth of history and the rectitude of our cause.

Very respectfully, your ob't servant,
BENJ. G. HUMPHREYS, Gov. of Mississippi.

The following beautiful lines are the production of Wm. Gilmore Simms. They give expression to the sadness which reigns over the Southern heart in view of all that our people have suffered and all that we have lost. We believe, however, that there is a brighter day in reserve for the South, and with that hope cheer ourselves and others. A kindlier and gentler rule will be substituted for the harsh one which a radical and violent policy dictates. When this shall happen, peace and prosperity may again smile upon our land:

THE SOUTH.

Well may we sing her beauties,
This pleasant land of ours,
Her sunny smiles, her golden fruits,
And all her world of flowers;
The young birds of her forest groves,
The blue folds of her sky,
And all those airs of gentleness
That never seem to fly;
They wind about our forms at noon,
They woo us in the shade,
When panting, from the summer's heats,
We seek the welcome glade;
They win us with a song of love,
They cheer us with a dream
That glides our passing thoughts of life
As sunlight does the stream;
And well would they persuade us now,
In moments all too dear,
That, though our hearts may sinful be,
We have our Eden here.
Ah, well has lavish Nature,
From out her boundless store,
Spread wealth of loveliness around,
On river, rock and shore;
No sweeter streams than ours may be—
And what of sunny France?
She boasts no fairer fields than ours
Within her matron glance;
Our skies look down in tenderness
From out their realms of blue,
The fairest of Italian climes
May claim no softer hue;
And, let them sing of fruits of Spain,
And let them boast the flowers,
The Moors' own culture—they can claim
No dearer sweets than ours.
Perchance the dark-haired maiden
Is a glory in your eye,
But the maidens of the South will rule
When all the rest are nigh.
And none may say it is not true,
The burden of my lay,
'Tis written in the sight of all
In flower and fruit and ray;

Look on the scene around us now,
And say if sung amiss,
The song that pictures to your eye
A spot so fair as this;
Gay springs the merry mocking bird,
Around the cottage pale,
And, scarcely taught by hunter's aim,
The rabbit down the vale.
Each boon of kindly Nature,
Her buds, her blooms, her flowers,
And, more than all, the maidens fair,
That fill this land of ours,
Are still in rich perfection
As our fathers found them first;
But our sons are gentle now no more,
And all the land is cursed.
Wild thoughts are in our bosoms,
And a savage discontent;
We love no more the life we led,
The music, nor the scent;
The merry dance delights us not,
As in that better time,
When oft in happy bands we met,
With spirits like our clime,
And all the social loveliness
And all the smile is gone,
That linked the spirits of our youth,
And made our people one.
They smile no more together,
As in that early day,
Our maidens sigh in loneliness
Who once were always gay;
And though our skies are bright,
And our sun looks down as then,
Ah, no! the thought is sad I feel,
We shall never smile again.

The South is rapidly re-establishing her manufactures, and she has gained great experience during four years of war, when all of her capacities in this respect were taxed to the uttermost. The *Augusta Chronicle* says:

One of the most extensive manufacturing establishments ever projected in the South is now under construction on the South Carolina Railroad, nine miles from Augusta. This enterprise is known as the Kalmia Mills, and will consist, when completed, of a cotton factory, one paper mill for the manufacture of writing paper, and one for the manufacture of news and book paper. The *Charleston News*, alluding to this Company, states that the machinery is all imported, having been ordered by the President of the Company, while in Europe last year, and consists, in the cotton factory of ten thousand self-acting mule-spindles for spinning, and five hundred looms. The Company will also introduce approved bleaching machinery adapted to the finer grades of long cloth, print goods and shirting, of which their manufacture will chiefly consist. Their paper machinery will comprise, in the letter-mill, a forty-two inch machine; and in the news mill, an eighty-four inch Fourdrinier machine. The capital of the Company is half a million of dollars, with the privilege charter of increasing it to two millions.

It is the intention of the Company to employ white operatives, and they will chiefly be selected from the vicinity. It will afford employment for several hundred hands, in the different departments; and though owned and controlled chiefly by the capital of a neighboring city, it will confer material advantage upon the industrial classes of our city and vicinity.

The following statement shows the amount paid by the several States named, during the last quarter of the year ending December 31st, 1865, upon their quotas of the direct tax levied by act of Congress August 5th, 1861.

Tennessee.....	\$50,000
North Carolina.....	25,986
Louisiana.....	20,000

Total.....\$105,986

The following-named States are the only ones who have not yet paid something towards the liquidation of their direct tax accounts with the General Government:

	Quota.
Georgia.....	\$584,867 33
Alabama.....	629,319 33
Mississippi.....	418,084 66
Texas.....	854,106 66

Total.....\$1,881,871 98

Since the close of the war, the States named below have paid over to the Government on account the following sums:

	Paid in.	Quota.
South Carolina....	\$234,756 17	\$563,870 66
Virginia.....	171,420 31	937,550 66
Florida.....	48,500 81	77,523 66
Arkansas.....	33,165 32	261,384 00
Louisiana.....	220,000 00	235,886 00
Tennessee.....	108,272 00	669,493 00
North Carolina....	33,986 00	276,194 42

Total.....\$52,100 57 \$6,273,100 40

Add amounts due by Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas.. 1,881,871 98

Total amount due the Government..\$5,154,931 38

The New Orleans *Picayune* appeals with much force to Congress for aid in deepening the channels at the mouth of the Mississippi, and says that less than one hundred thousand dollars expended each year would effect the purpose entirely. It adds that—

All the schemes which rest upon the theory that the bar of the Mississippi is formed by the deposits of sediment, and may be swept away by an increase of the velocity of the current, have failed and will always fail. These bars are composed of tough, tenacious blue clay, and are thrown up by some mysterious subterranean or submarine influence, and can only be got rid of by some process of digging, blasting, plowing or dredging, and this work must be kept up as long as there are bars.

General Early has written a letter to friends, in which he gives a most discouraging view of the chances of American colonists in Mexico. He advises no one to take wife and children without making previous arrangements in the country, and adds:

It is exceedingly difficult for those who have succeeded in getting lands to procure labor to put them in a state of cultivation, as the native population cannot be relied on for that purpose. All idea of procuring assistance

from the Government must be abandoned by those who desire to emigrate to the country. On the railroad which is being constructed from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, practical and experienced engineers, contractors and mechanics may find employment, but otherwise very few positions are open to those who do not wish to cultivate the soil. Physicians who can speak the language, can get permission to practice their professions, but beyond this there is no opening whatever for any of the learned profession.

We refer in another place to the proposed compromise offered by the bondholders for the acceptance of the stockholders of the *New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad*. Subsequently we have seen and conversed with General Beauregard, President of the Road, who is on his way to Europe to negotiate with the bondholders, and who placed in our hands the following preamble and resolutions which were lately adopted:

Whereas, Certain parties holding an inconsiderable amount of the first mortgage bonds of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad Company, inspired by motives which we are forced to consider as more sinister than generous or patriotic, have recently instituted a suit in the United States Circuit Court for this District, against this Company, and applied for the appointment of a receiver to take charge of and manage the property, and pray also for an order of the Court to sell that portion of the Road embraced in the State of Louisiana, with all its rights, appurtenances and franchises; and

Whereas, The same parties, in prosecution of their designs, have recently submitted to the bondholders, shareholders and general creditors of the Company, a plan of reorganization under a new name and a totally new administration, which, however specious and attractive in appearance, would, in our judgment, if adopted, be highly prejudicial to the best interests of all except its authors and prove destructive to the value and usefulness of this important public work; and

Whereas, Under the circumstances, we deem it our duty to the bondholders, shareholders and other creditors of the Road to present to them a candid and well-considered statement of our views on both of the movements or propositions above referred to; therefore be it

1. *Resolved*, unanimously, That the default in the payment of the interest coupons of the first mortgage bonds, which has unfortunately occurred in the last five years, and the delay in the liquidation of other claims against this Company, embraced under the schedule of its floating debt, was occasioned by no mismanagement of the affairs of this Company or indifference to its plighted faith; but were the results of a great national calamity which we were powerless to avert, and the disastrous effects of which extended to every State, corporation, association and individual in the Southern States, causing a general destruction of property, resources and business, and entailing upon States, as well as the most solvent and prudently managed corporations, failure in the performance of engagements contracted anterior to the war, the fulfillment of which would have been certain and easy had our country been blessed with peace.

2. *Resolved*, That in the present financial condition of this Company, and after a careful examination of its affairs, we see no reason to doubt its ability to discharge every dollar of its indebtedness, if its creditors will extend to us a reasonable share of confidence and indulgence. From a condition of general wreck and paralysis in June, 1865, at which time it was returned by the military authorities to its legitimate custodians, the road has, with large outlay certainly, but yet with great energy, skill and economy been restored by the late Board to an efficiency equal to all the demands of through and local traffic. Its receipts have steadily increased from \$26,000 per month in July, 1865, to \$150,000 per month at the close of the year. Its earnings for the four past months of the current year, show an aggregate of over \$500,000, or \$125,000 per month, with fair prospects of a remunerative business, even for the approaching summer months.

3. *Resolved*, That this Board hereby pledge themselves to the Bondholders and general creditors of the Road to use the most rigid economy in the administration of its affairs, to promote its efficiency and increase its income by every legitimate means and to apply scrupulously all its net earnings to the payment of its outstanding obligations, at the earliest practicable day.

4. *Resolved*, That we approve fully of the plan suggested in the report of the Finance Committee to make a weekly deposit of funds in bank, to be set aside for the punctual payment of the coupons falling due 1st January, 1867; and that we are prepared to sanction any arrangement entered into by the Finance Committee and the Bondholders for the future payment of the overdue coupons, which they may mutually agree upon. R. S. CHARLES, Sec.

Since the appearance of the last number of the REVIEW, the editor has visited CINCINNATI, as one of a Committee from Nashville to call the attention of the people to the importance of a direct railroad communication between the two cities. The account of this trip and of all the interesting circumstances connected with it must be deferred to our next issue. We can only now present the main features of the scheme as prepared for the *Nashville Banner*, reserving the statistics, maps, &c., for the full report:

Nashville desires the most direct route of railway communication with the East; and Cincinnati for many years has felt the need of a direct Southern line of travel to the Gulf. There is no route which presents so many advantages to the Cincinnati people, as the route through Nashville. A road has already been constructed from Cincinnati to Danville, Ky., via Lexington. At Lexington the Covington and Lexington road connects with the Maysville and Lexington which runs to Danville, in a direction, which, if continued on the map, would lead directly to New Orleans, via Nashville. It is the cheapest Southern route for Cincinnati, from the fact that there are but 140 miles to be constructed from Danville to Nashville, through a comparatively level

country, and undoubtedly the richest as well as most productive section in America. It would be the best paying route, from the fact, that Nashville, with her numerous railway connections, south, east and west, would bring to it a vast amount of travel and freight it would not receive from any other contemplated route. The road from Nashville directly south to Decatur, Ala., and the Tennessee, is now in complete running order, and one of the best paying roads that centres at Nashville.

The Pensacola road—chartered as "the Alabama Central Railroad"—starts at Decatur, Ala., and terminates at Montgomery, Ala., where it intersects with the road thence to Pensacola, which is finished and in use. The length of the road (very nearly an air line, and very nearly due south and north) is one hundred and eighty miles, of which about one hundred miles is graded, and that portion lying between the Lime Kila (where it crosses the Tennessee and Alabama River Railroad) and the Cahawba river, some fifteen or twenty miles is finished and is in use. Besides the capital stock of the Company, the State of Alabama made a free donation or bonus of \$600,000, the interest on which is to be paid until the road is completed, when the principal is to be paid over to the road. Besides this, the United States granted to the State of Alabama upwards of 400,000 acres of land lying along the road in alternate sections, with the privilege of running back six miles on each side of it. Mr. Frank Gilmer, of Montgomery, is the President of the road.

The Mobile and Great Northern Railroad intersects the Alabama and Florida Road at Pollard, from which point to Pensacola is about forty miles, and to Mobile fifty or sixty miles. The Tennessee and Alabama Railroad (which is crossed by the Alabama Central at Lime Kila) reaches from Selma to Blue Mountain or Jacksonville. By the last road, Selma, Meridian, Jackson, Miss., and Vicksburg are reached. At the latter place it meets the road being made to Shreveport, Louisiana, a portion of which (how much we do not know) is now finished to Monroe, Louisiana.

The Northeastern and Southwestern Railroad from Meridian via Tuscaloosa intersects with the Central Alabama road at Elyton, Ala. The half of this Northeastern and Southwestern road is already graded. This Northeastern and Southwestern road to Meridian and thence to Jackson makes the shortest projected line from Nashville to New Orleans—taking the New Orleans and Jackson road at Jackson.

We lay these facts before our Cincinnati friends, and earnestly ask their in-

vestigation of this route. A few moments' study of the railroad maps will satisfy them that Nashville is unquestionably in their directest and shortest route to the South, to say nothing of the fact that Nashville can make a heavier subscription to the road than can be obtained elsewhere in the route of any other community, outside of Cincinnati.

We acknowledge our indebtedness to Charles C. Whittlesey, of St. Louis, for a copy of his able and searching argument upon the rights of *practising lawyers in the Supreme Court of the United States*, and will endeavor in our next to make some extracts for the benefit of our readers.

Mr. Lyander Spooner, of Boston, who sends us his pamphlet upon *Banking*, will also receive our thanks and promises of future attention.

FOR SALE.—A very fine estate situated on the Jackson Railroad, in the parish of St. Helena, 84 miles from New Orleans, between Camp Moore Station and Ouyka. It consists of 500 acres, more or less, contained between parallel lines, running to Tangipahoa river which is its front boundary. Another beautiful and picturesque stream, called Terry's Creek, with water as clear as crystal, runs through the land close by the house, and affords an opportunity for delightful baths. The fishing is excellent in both streams, and in other water courses in their immediate vicinity. Game is superabundant, and good society close at hand. The land is covered with a magnificent forest of magnolias, oaks, beech trees, poplars, hollies, etc. Eighty acres are ready for cultivation, and would easily produce a bale of cotton to the acre. There are few pines on the place, but as it is situated in the midst of pine bearing and unfertile lands, it is as healthy a spot as can be found anywhere. It is like an Arabian oasis in the desert.

This is indeed a remarkable place, which combines unlimited water power, fertility of soil and magnificence of timber, in the immediate vicinity of such a market as New Orleans, which can be reached in four hours.

The House and other establishments are elegant and situated in the midst of a superb English park. In one word, there are few places in Louisiana which might be made more productive and more beautiful. The place is two hundred feet above the level of New Orleans, the water is of the purest, and there are no mosquitoes. The nights are delightfully cool.

No one having cash in hand and wishing to cultivate cotton, to establish saw mills, or wood yards, or erect factories, and at the same time enjoy the various delights of a princely residence in a locality as free from disease as any other on the face of the earth, will resist the temptation of buying, on examining the resources of this uncommon piece of property.

Competent judges have declared that there is on it a sufficient quantity of the finest white oaks to make millions of masts. The holly, poplar and beech are abundant, and would find a ready market in New Orleans, being in great demand by cabinet makers. Address, De Bow's Review, Nashville, Tenn.

DEBOW'S REVIEW ADVERTISING INDEX.

All advertisements in the Review will be regularly noted in this index. Our terms are the same as before the war, and considering the large circulation of the Review in every part of the Union, and especially in the Southern States, its limits should be occupied. Merchants and manufacturers of the South, and those having lands for sale, would do well to imitate in advertising the enterprise of Northern cities. Our pages are open to all, and it is from this source only that the Review can be made remunerative.

Advertising Agency.—G. P. Rowell & Co.
Agricultural Implements—Machinery, etc.—R. H. Allen & Co.
Books, etc.—James Potts; W. B. Smith & Co.; Raleigh, N. C.
Boots and Shoes.—John Slater.
Bankers and Exchange.—C. W. Parcell & Co.; W. B. Isaacs & Co.; Lancaster & Co.; Harrison, Godkin & Apperson; Lockwood & Co.; Duncan, Sherman & Co.; Edwin Q. Bell.
Brokers.—John McCloud, Jr., St. Paul, Minn.
Charleston, S. C., Advertisements.
Cards.—Cotton and Wood; Jno. H. Haskell.
Coppersmiths and Engineers.—Thomas Gannell, J. Wyatt Reid.
Clothing, Shirts, &c.—S. N. Moody; Henry Moore & Genung.
Collection and Commission.—E. G. S. Wells & Co.
Emigration Companies.—The American.
Engravers, etc.—Ferd. Mayer & Co.; J. W. Orr.
Eyes.—Dr. Fooks.
Express Co.—Southern.
Fertilisers, etc.—John S. Reese & Co.; Allen & Needles; Haugh & Sons; Graham, Emileu & Passmore; Tasker and Clark.
Fancy Goods.—J. M. Bowen & Co.
Garden Seeds, etc.—D. Landroth & Son.
Jocelyn.—Baskerville, Sherman & Co.
Hotels.—La Pierre, Phila; Exchange, Richm'd.
Hardware, etc.—Geo. Wolfe Bruce; C. H. Stocomb, N. O.
Insurance.—Etna Insurance; Accidental.
Iron Railings, etc.—Robert Wood & Co.
Iron Safes.—Herring & Co.
Jewelry, etc.—Tiffany & Co.; Hall, Black & Co.
Lawyers.—W. W. Boyce, D. C.; Ward & Jones, N.Y.
Land and Real Estate Agencies.—American; J. G. Morey.
Machinery.—Steam Engines, Saw Mills, &c.—Jacob B. Schenck; Pools & Hunt; Smith & Sayre; Jas. A. Robinson; Geo. Page & Co.
Medicines.—Merwin's Chertoke Pills; R. H. R. Facts; Seitzer's Aperient; Alcock's Porous Plasters; Bradstreet's Pills; Thorpe's Comp.
Musical Instruments.—F. Ziegmann & Fairchild; Sonntag and Bege.
Masonic Emblems, etc.—B. T. Hayward.
Melodeons.—J. M. Pelton.
Nurseries.—Elwanger & Barry.
Patent Limbs.—W. Selpho & Son.
Pianos.—Win. Knabe & Co.; Bacon & Raven.
Photographers.—S. Anderson, N. O.
Scales.—Fairbanks & Co.
Straw Goods.—Bostwick, Sabin & Clark.
Steamships.—James Connely & Co., N. O.
Stationers.—Francis & Loutrel, New York; E. R. Wagener, New Orleans.
Soap, Starch, etc.—B. T. Babbitt.
Sewing Machines.—Singer & Co.
Steel.—Sanderson Brothers & Co.
Silver and Plated Ware.—Windle & Co.; Wilson & Son.
Tobacco Dealers, etc.—Dohan, Carroll & Co.
Tin Ware.—S. J. Hare & Co.; J. B. Duval & Son.
Tailors.—Derby & Co.; Harlem & Co.; B. B. Merrill.
Wire Work Railings.—Walker & Sons.
Washing Machines and Wringers.—H. C. Brown; Jno. Ward & Co.; Oakley & Keating.

